

**WE TRUST GOD WILL OWN HIS WORD:
A HOLINESS - MENNONITE MISSION IN NIGERIA
1905-1978**

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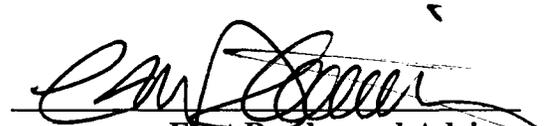
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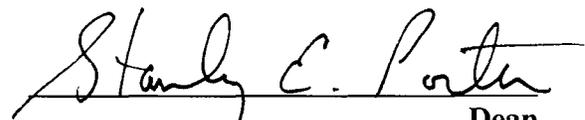
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ABSTRACT

Under the revivalistic example and persuasion of German Methodistic groups in the mid-nineteenth century, scattered groups of Swiss-German Mennonites and Brethren in Christ in North America came together in a union called the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church in 1883. This denomination deliberately drew closer to mainstream evangelicalism of a Wesleyan holiness type. Valuing “aggressive evangelism,” and trying to serve widely located Anabaptists, the denomination supported foreign missions but did not have any mission sending structure until 1905. By then several dozen young members, men and women, had volunteered and joined non-denominational holiness movement missionary societies. When A W Banfield resigned from service in Nigeria with one such mission in 1905, some Mennonite Brethren in Christ Conferences led by the Ontario Conference organized themselves to send him and his wife back to Nigeria to start the first foreign mission of the denomination. A stronger organization, the United Missionary Society, was constituted in 1921, supported by all but one of the Annual Conferences. In Nigeria, the mission selected the Nupe people along the middle Niger River and slowly added mission stations, eventually serving about nine people groups in the west and north of Nigeria. A Nigerian church, the United Missionary Church of Africa, was organized as part of the indigenizing policy of the mission after the Second World War, but the mission retained leadership and ownership in key areas until moved to turnover control by mission board policies and the nationalizing mood of Nigeria through the 1970s. Nigerians converted through or serving with the mission became the leaders of uneven periods of growth, although overall the church has grown tenfold since the 1960s to average Sunday attendances of over 52,000 by 1999.

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It seems presumptuous to claim formation in historical things came by these great teachers, but it is the writer's delight to honour Mr E Gomm, who taught Ancient History to grade eleven at Algonquin Composite School, North Bay, Ontario in the 1960s and awakened something that has never faded. I loved to be in the lectures of Dr Thomas Dow at Emmanuel Bible College, and of Dr Ian Rennie at Tyndale Seminary (then Ontario Theological Seminary). McMaster Divinity College has now provided experiences of the highest quality for learning .

The writer has benefited from the generous sharing of archive material from three libraries, each guarded by equally generous archivist/ curators, Dr Timothy Paul Erdel of the Missionary Church Inc Archives at the Bowen Library, Bethel College (Mishawaka, Indiana), Robert Everitt, assistant to the General Secretary of the Canadian Bible Society (Toronto) for their archive collection, and Hugh Hill of the Edna Pridham Library at Emmanuel Bible College (Kitchener, Ontario), which houses the Evangelical Missionary Church of Canada, Canada East District archives. The writer is thankful for the many who have told something of their stories in Canada and Nigeria over the years. I am especially happy to acknowledge the permission of World Partners Canada of the Evangelical Missionary Church of Canada, and their generous encouragement, for study leave to research the history of the Mission to Nigeria.

My wife knows how many ideas have been tested in her patient hearing and how much correction she has graciously given.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIM	Africa Industrial Mission (later Sudan Interior Mission)
ANFC	Annual Nigerian Field Conference
BiC	Brethren in Christ Church
C&MA	Christian and Missionary Alliance
CMS	Church Missionary Society (now Church Mission Society)
ECWA	Evangelical Churches of West Africa (now Evangelical Church of West Africa)
<i>GB</i>	<i>Gospel Banner</i>
<i>HMBiC</i>	<i>History of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church</i>
<i>HUMC</i>	<i>History of the United Missionary Church</i>
<i>ME</i>	<i>Mennonite Encyclopedia</i>
<i>MB</i>	<i>Missionary Banner</i>
MBiC	Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church
MBiC MS	Mennonite Brethren in Christ Missionary Society
MCIA	Missionary Church Incorporated Archives
NLFA	New Life For All
SIM	Sudan Interior Mission (now SIM International)
SUM	Sudan United Mission (now Action Partners)

TTC	Teacher Training College
UMC	United Missionary Church
UMCA	United Missionary Church of Africa
UMS	United Missionary Society
<i>UMS Journal</i>	<i>Journal of the Proceedings of the United Missionary Society</i>
UOMS	United Orphanage and Mission Society
<i>WGHW</i>	<i>What God Hath Wrought</i>

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As the rains decreased along the middle Niger River valley in October of 1911, the days were getting warmer and dryer, and the nights cooler than in the rainy season coming to an end. A Canadian Mennonite missionary who often complained in her diary that she was tired and was accomplishing nothing, noted on Sunday 22nd October that “God helped us today & we trust he will own his own word.”¹ Cornelia Winifred Pannabecker’s mission station at Jebba, in the British Protectorate of Northern Nigeria offered three services per Sunday, in English, Yoruba and Nupe. She had been learning the Nupe language since first arriving in the protectorate in 1906, but still frequently felt frustrated speaking in formal services. Although often reporting, “God helped me,” she could also record, “I had to speak Nupe this afternoon [-] it went hard.”²

What bothered her more than trouble with fluency in Nigerian languages, was the lack of expected response to the mission’s evangelical holiness preaching. “Oh that the people might understand our mission,” she wrote in January, emphasizing “understand”.³ In September she wrote,

Bro. H. [the Rev Charles Tobias Homuth] spoke this morning & at 3 p.m. I spoke at 4. p.m. Oh that God would break in upon us in convicting & convincing power, & that souls would get down before God & confess their sins & wrongs.⁴

More troubling for Cornelia was the constant struggle with her conscience. She was plagued by thoughts that she was not doing enough. Back in the week of March 5th they had a visit from Dr Andrew Stirrett of the Sudan Interior Mission who spoke at all three of the Mennonite Mission’s

services. There was a smallpox epidemic in the town, and their little school was ordered closed. On Monday, she expressed her concerns in prayer: "My heart goes out after God, & souls. May God grant us a revival in this land, in this town yea, in my own soul." Tuesday, the mission received a supply of I Corinthians printed in Nupe. "Thank God for it. It makes [me] wish our work was more among the Nupes here..." Next day she recorded being invited to the Nupe Language Conference to be held at Shonga, leading her to write, "I feel anxious to get out again among the people. Trust God will make me a blessing..." Friday she re-read Romans chapter 5 adding, "How easy to get careless & prayerless." In the Sunday 9 a.m. service, she used the passage from Romans 5, but,

It.went hard. Felt real discouraged. 3. p.m. I spoke from Jno. 9.7. Trust good was done. Several raised their hand for prayer. God grant real Bible conviction to come upon the people. Sis. O. [Florence Overholt] spoke at 4.p.m.⁵

Was Cornelia Pannabecker fair in her assessments of herself, her Mission, or the people of Nigeria? What response should anyone have expected to the spiritual services of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Missionary Society? After all, they had opened their missionary station in Jebba only in the early months of 1910, five years after their only other base at Tsonga. Why should Nigerians from the southern Nigerian "Protectorate", or railway workers from "Accrah" follow the pleadings of six young Canadians and Americans? The foreigners could barely speak the Africans' languages or communicated through interpreters; how could they expect Africans to repent of their sins, or "pray through" to consecration as people did in camp-meetings back in North America? How would Mennonite or holiness "non-conformity" to the world (eg "plain dress") be applied in Nigeria? To understand what the Mission which the Nigerians of various people groups on the middle Niger met from 1905-1978, one needs first to understand the

experiences and teaching of the denomination that sent missionaries like Cornelia Pannabecker.⁶ This is the goal of the first chapter.

The Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church was a union of small widely scattered Swiss and south German Mennonite and Brethren in Christ groups in eastern North America influenced by evangelical and Wesleyan holiness revivalism in the middle of the nineteenth century. The time and location of contacts with revivalism resulted in different emphases in each of the constituent groups. The church formed and survived only where major settlements of Mennonites and Brethren in Christ provided large enough congregations to anchor the movement for later growth.

Change did not stop when the church came together in a Methodist-style Conference structure in 1883. An unanticipated movement of women moving into public leadership roles after the first decade of the church's life led the spread of the church from its rural bases into the cities of North America and encouraged the church to take action decisively into foreign missions. In the twentieth century growing Reformed fundamentalism in the largest conference and growing ecumenical Wesleyanism in the other conferences proved too much for denominational unity. Unity and divergence will not receive attention as such here, except as they affected the denomination's foreign missions, the mission to Nigeria in particular.

To many members in the late nineteenth century, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, despite its "aggressive" evangelism,⁷ was not accomplishing all it should, and there were many calls for organizing a foreign mission agency and Bible institutes. Efforts were otherwise centred in individual voluntarism, and Annual Conference initiative. Nearly forty years were to pass from the 1883 union to the establishment of a General Conference foreign missionary structure. When the United Missionary Society (UMS) was organized in 1921 it imitated the many denominational

and non-denominational missions that had become familiar through members' participation in them since 1895. They were reading missionary literature of denominations close both geographically and doctrinally to the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church, especially as reprints in the denominational magazine, the *Gospel Banner*. More broadly, this study will note any signs that the "missionary motifs" described by David Bosch as characteristic of post-Enlightenment mission were present in Pannabecker's mission.⁸

The growth of the Nigerian branch of the missionary society in structure and geographical extension up to the year of the official dissolution of the mission in Nigeria (1978) will occupy our attention in chapter two.

A theme of this study is the Nigerian response to the mission in terms of church growth.⁹ Was the growth experienced "poor" or "normal" or out of the control of the mission? Did the missionaries, so occupied with delivering a message, ever discern that Nigerians had any message for them? What were the missionaries' suppositions about their activity? How did they go about developing a church to stand on its own— an indigenous church?¹⁰

In time, the tiny Mennonite Brethren in Christ mission in Nigeria would grow modestly,¹¹ and the related Nigerian church would eventually assume self-government and achieve growth of a community greater than the North American denomination that sent the first missionaries.¹² This thesis is then, third, an attempt to trace the growth of the mission in Nigeria and something of the complex response of Nigerians to the mission and its preaching. No history of the Nigerian mission has been written apart from chapters in denominational histories.¹³ The present study is a contribution to a full history of the mission, the preparation of which is, despite the opinions of some, a needed and worthy task of church history.¹⁴ This is not a history of the Nigerian United

Missionary Church of Africa (UMCA), although it will provide valuable help for such a project.¹⁵

The Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church¹⁶ experience is not unknown to scholars outside the group, however, the presence of inaccuracies and dependence upon secondary sources indicate that they really do not know much about the church and their interest ends (especially in the case of Mennonite historians) once the period of Mennonite division ends, or demonstrating that the group is an example of cultural accommodation or holiness routinization.¹⁷ It is true the church in North America is one of many small denominations, (though for some time the third largest Mennonite church) and its mission was small in membership in Nigeria compared to the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM), the Sudan United Mission (SUM), the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Nigeria, the other early missions in northern Nigeria.¹⁸

In mission literature concerning the Nigerian mission of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, a similar ignorance prevails, from Kenneth Scott Latourette's misleading transmissions of J Lowry Maxwell's friendly but spare comments,¹⁹ to a few paragraphs in major studies of Christianity in Middle-belt and Northern Nigeria, if it is mentioned at all.²⁰ Southern Nigerian Christianity, preceding the north by almost 60 years, and involving mainline denominations such as the British Methodists, Scottish Presbyterians, Anglicans, and Roman Catholics as well as the American Southern Baptists has a much larger body of historical writings.²¹ Recent trends to shift attention from western Christianity (and from its missionary organizations to an ideology of "mission") to the Church of the "South" and "East", fully appropriate as they are, further threaten to choke studies of missionary communities from western churches in Africa.

Some of this ignorance can be blamed on the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church and Mission itself, which hardly reported itself outside of denominational papers, and did not promote

itself as, for example, did the non-denominational neighbouring Nigerian mission, the Sudan Interior Mission.²² No biography has been produced of the first field superintendent and his wife, Alexander and Althea Banfield, who sparked the choice of northern Nigeria as the denomination's first official mission field, until a short account published in 2001 in Nigeria, 52 years after the death of the husband.²³ Popular biographies of a few missionaries who served in the post-World War II period of expansion have appeared since the 1980s, and except for a brief article in the Missionary Church Historical Society journal *Reflections*,²⁴ no scholarly studies of significance have appeared in North America, despite the length of the mission's involvement (close to a century), numbers of personnel who worked in Nigeria (over 190), and the size of the Nigerian Church now established (average Sunday attendance approx 52,000 in 1999). Doctoral or at least master's level theses have been written about some fields of the denomination's mission, but not Nigeria, by far the largest field.²⁵

The main sources of information about the early decades of the church and its missions are the denominational paper, *Gospel Banner* (1878 to 1969, succeeded by *Emphasis on Faith and Living*), General and Annual Conference proceedings (before 1898 usually printed in the *Gospel Banner*), and a scattering of annual reports (the mission published society minutes annually 1940-1968), correspondence files, field conference minutes,²⁶ and for the period 1938-1969, the denominational MBiC magazine, *Missionary Banner* (1938-1969).

1. Diaries of Cornelia Winifred (Pannabecker) Chester (1878-1946), unpublished, 22 October 1911, [used with kind permission of the Rev and Mrs Edward and Noriene Chester].

2. *Ibid.*, 4 June 1911.

3. Ibid., 27 January 1911.

4. Ibid., 17 September 1911.

5. Ibid., 5th–12th March 1911.

6. Cf Charles S Gingerich, "An Experiment in Denominationalism: A History of the Missionary Church of Canada, Ontario Conference, 1849-1918," MA Thesis, Wheaton College, 1994. This thesis is a good interpretation of the formation of the Conference. Foreign missions institutions are briefly described, with minor inaccuracies.

7. A term they loved, but certainly odd for Mennonites of any description.

8. David J Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), 285-345. This book has been highly acclaimed. Amazingly, it either dismisses or fails to interact with the Church Growth literature, being oriented to European Continental theology and valuable for that very reason for English-speaking missiology. The "motifs" he discusses are "God's glory", "constrained by Jesus' love", assumption of the cultural superiority of the West, assumption of the providential mission of the western Church, and the compatibility of colonialism and missions, millennialist hopes, voluntarism, optimism about progress, and obedience to Matthew 28: 18-20.

9. Principally by the methods of the Church Growth movement, which uses theological, anthropological and historical insights stemming from the leadership of Donald McGavran as in his *Understanding Church Growth* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B Eerdmans Publishing, 1970). Two further editions were published, 1980 and 1990 (the last edited by Peter Wagner). A number of concepts developed by McGavran and colleagues at the Fuller Theological Seminary's School of World Mission have been fiercely attacked, eg C Rene Padilla, *Mission Between the Times: Essays* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B Eerdmans Publishing, 1985) and occasionally labelled heretical, eg Tom Nees, "Evangelism without the Gospel," *Sojourners* (February 1980) 27-29, cited in C Wayne Zunkel, *Church Growth Under Fire* (Scottsdale, PA and Kitchener, ON: Herald Press, 1987), 24. The Fuller School interacted constantly with detractors and modified their positions somewhat. It is not clear that there is a "Fuller Church Growth" movement now, although there are numerous "marketing the Church" advocates whose approach for the United States is known as "Church Growth." In the opinion of the writer, most of McGavran's concepts describe to a great extent how churches have in fact grown outside the North Atlantic countries and the objections, while sometimes theologically true, and therefore to be followed in missionary *activity*, cannot prevent the growth of churches partly by objectionable *forces*.

10. Henry Venn's influential statement was that the "object" of the Church Missionary Society missions "viewed in their Ecclesiastical aspect, is the development of native Churches, with a view to their ultimate settlement upon a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-extending system...the Mission will have attained its *euthanasia* [*italics original*], and the Missionary and all Missionary agency can be transferred to the regions beyond." Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church*

Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work 3 Vol. (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), 2:83. Rufus Anderson of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (*Foreign Missions: Their Relations and Claims* (1869)) shared this outlook, which became the assumed policy of many evangelical missions, including the Mennonite Brethren in Christ mission at least in the 1940s.

11. The first two missionaries were appointed and sent in 1905. With a field term of three years, and attrition due to sickness, death and home country circumstances, the number in Nigeria was never above ten (often no more than six) until the mid 1920s. From 1924, those under appointment to Nigeria averaged 15 until 1937. See Table 2, which to 1948 is constructed mainly from information in Everek Richard Storms, *What God Hath Wrought: The Story of the Foreign Missionary Efforts of the United Missionary Church* (Springfield, OH: United Missionary Society, 1948), hereafter referred to by *WGHW*. After 1948, the Table notes sources used.

12. See Table 1 with its derived charts (Figures and) and Table 3.

13. Storms, *WGHW*, 29-82 (chapters three to eight), was revised from his master's thesis "The History of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church in Nigeria," for the Winona Lake School of Theology, (Winona Lake, IN), (1947) and was complete to that year. It is mainly a record of field personnel, opening of stations and beginning of institutions. Everek Richard Storms, *History of the United Missionary Church* (Elkhart, IN: Bethel Publishing, 1958), 233-249, includes Nigeria in the chapter on "Foreign Missions." Eileen Lageer, ed, *The Heathen for Thine Inheritance* (Elkhart, IN: United Missionary Society, [1959]) is a valuable collection of stories and descriptions by the missionary staff of every congregation in the United Missionary Church of Africa. Eileen Lageer, *Merging Streams: Story of the Missionary Church* (Elkhart, IN: Bethel Publishing, 1979), 179-198, brings the story up to 1978, the year of the Mission's handover to the Nigerian church. The chapter refers to indigenization and some Church Growth ideas applied to the Nigerian church, but emphasizes the providence of God and the anecdotal. Wayne H Brenneman, "The Indigenization of the Missionary Church of Nigeria," Independent Study in lieu of Missions Course for M. Miss., School of Christian Ministry, Huntington College, (Huntington, IN), 1978, [Missionary Church Inc. Archives], directly addresses one theme of this study. Hereafter sources from the Missionary Church Inc Archives will be indicated by [MCIA].

14. Kevin Ward, "The Legacy of Eugene Stock," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 23:2 (April 1999) 78, quotes the opinion of Brian Stanley, his co-editor, that missionary society histories have been "an exhausted and dying breed" since the 1970s, even though he helped produce some himself. The multiplying of missionary agencies, mostly evangelical, in the Third World as well as in the West, suggests that many Christians "believe" in mission societies after all and histories will flourish. Elizabeth Allo Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the Present* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B Eerdmans Publishing, 1995), 74-75, comments frankly on reactionary fashions in missionary historiography in Africa, including critiques of the nationalist school of Ayandele and Ajayi (see n 21 below).

15. There is another “UMCA” in missions history—the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa—an Anglo-Catholic society founded ca 1857-8; Stephen Neill, revised by Owen Chadwick, *A History of Christian Missions* 2nd ed, (London: Penguin Books, 1986), 275.

16. The Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church adopted the name United Missionary Church in 1947, and as result of a merger with the (wholly American) Missionary Church Association in 1969 became the Missionary Church. National legal and ministry pressures launched a Canadian structure, the “Missionary Church of Canada” in 1975, (incorporated 1979) which was the foundation for the organization of American and Canadian national churches in 1988. A merger of the Evangelical Church of Canada and the Missionary Church of Canada produced the Evangelical Missionary Church of Canada in 1993. The American church is still known as the Missionary Church, Inc.

17. The most excellent recent bibliography on Anabaptist missions virtually ignores the Mennonite Brethren in Christ who were normally included in Mennonite surveys up to about 1950, except for two works on the Armenian mission. The Brethren in Christ, who were normally noted briefly in Mennonite works up to about 1950, (and even as late as Cornelius J Dyck, *An Introduction to Mennonite History: A Popular History of the Anabaptists and the Mennonites* 2nd ed, (Scottsdale, PA and Waterloo, ON: Herald Press, 1981), 309-311) are well represented in Chad Mullet Bauman and James R Krabill, eds, *Anabaptism and Mission: A Bibliography 1859-2000* (Elkhart, IN: Mennonite Mission Network, 2002).

18. The Sudan Interior Mission is now known as SIM International, Sudan United Mission’s components are mostly known as Action Partners, and the Church Missionary Society has become the Church Mission Society. This study will use SIM, SUM and CMS respectively for these missions, hereafter.

19. J Lowry Maxwell, *Nigeria: The Land, the People, and Christian Progress* (London: World Dominion Press, [1931], 101-102 was the source for Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity Vol 5: The Great Century: The Americas, Australasia and Africa* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1970 [1943]), 442. Gordon Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society 1910-1942 Vol 1: In Tropical Africa, The Middle East, At Home* (London: SCM Press, 1971), 73, accurately refers once to the “Canadian Mennonite Mission” in connection with CMS operations on the Niger River. He apologized in advance, (page xvi), for not referring often to neighbouring missions. Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 257, mention Banfield, a “Canadian Mennonite,” in one sentence in 1232 pages of text, which, given the scope of the project, one probably should be grateful.

20. E P T Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria* 3rd ed. (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1979), one paragraph about Banfield only; John B Grimley and Gordon E Robinson, *Church Growth in Central and Southern Nigeria* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B Eerdmans Publishing, 1966). Grimley and Robinson, 43, 96, seem to have relied on *World Christian Handbook* data and one letter from the UMS field director in 1963 for their information about the mission and church!

21. The story of these first Christian communities has been the subject of numerous studies because they were among the first Christian contacts, the sheer size of the Yoruba and Ibo people, their early acceptance of Western education, and the founding of the first Nigerian University (with a history department) at Ibadan (in “Yorubaland”) as a University College in (1948). The most influential studies featuring the Yoruba and Ibo since the 1960s have been J F Ade Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite* (London: Longman, 1965) and E A Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914: A Political and Social Analysis* (London: Longman, 1966), both based on archival research. Apart from the Ibo and Hausa (who with the Yoruba account for about 60% of Nigerians), other people groups have received less scholarly attention.

22. Apart from the MBiC history by Storms (1948), Lageer, *The Heathen for Thine Inheritance*, and Ellis A Lageer, ed, *Who's Who* (Elkhart, IN: Bethel Publishing, 1960 with additions to 1968) which profiles UMS missionaries, the only other official book publication of the UMS was Roy P Adams, ed, *Wedding Drums and Other Stories* (Elkhart, IN: Bethel Publishing, [1954]), a mix of anecdotes and fiction. John Moran, *In Labours of Love* ([Ilorin, Nigeria]: Self-published, [1967]) and Eunice Woods, *Tungan Magajiya* ([Ilorin, Nigeria], 1972) were descriptions of UMS and UMCA, and the Memorial Hospital in the Dukawa town, respectively.

23. Titus Ajakpo of Lokoja, Nigeria announced he was writing a book about A W Banfield, *GB*, 3 December 1964, 15. It is not known if he succeeded before Clare Fuller, *Banfield, Nupe, and the UMCA* (Ilorin, Nigeria: World Partners Nigeria, 2001). See the Bibliography for the other titles about Annie Yeo (published 1985, served 1938-1970) Gladys and Art Reifel (1992, served 1945-1987), Edna Pridham (1993, served 1945-72), and Dr Ross Bell (1998, served with his wife Ruby, a nurse, 1947-1974), with one about Joseph Ummel (served 1922-1943) in production. Joan Walsh has published memoirs (1999, served 1969-1988) and one is forth-coming by Esther Cressman (served 1951-1978). Russell Sloat and Ira Sherk are obvious choices for needed biographies.

24. Thomas Edward Dow, “A. W. Banfield: Missionary Pioneer in Nigeria,” *Reflections* 2:1 (Spring 1994) 12-15.

25. See Appendix. Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Hawaii, Jamaica, Sierra Leone. There is a serious gap in the study of the missions to the Armenians of Turkey, to India, Mexico and Brazil, all the major UMS fields.

26. Archive material is kept mostly in the Missionary Church Incorporated Archives at Bethel College, Mishawaka, Indiana, with some available at Evangelical Missionary Church of Canada district archives in Ontario (cared for at Emmanuel Bible College, Kitchener) and Alberta (at Rocky Mountain College, Calgary).

CHAPTER 2
THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTEXTS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS OF
THE MENNONITE BRETHERN IN CHRIST CHURCH TO 1905

The Nigerian mission examined in this thesis was the project, from 1905, of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church (MBiC)¹ (after 1947, the United Missionary Church (UMC), then after 1969, the Missionary Church) which had Canadian and American sections. It was the denominations' first foreign mission effort at an inter-Conference (or in current terminology, inter-district) level. However, there had been continuous foreign missionary activity by MBiC members since 1895, and foreign missionary fund-raising since before the start of the church.

The MBiC was a mixture of traditions, "too Evangelical to be Mennonite and too Mennonite to be Evangelical," as Timothy Brenneman was to describe them years later,² but to that should be added, too Mennonite to be Methodist, but too Methodist to be Mennonite. As such, Methodist historians do not deal with the MBiC and its descendent bodies, and Mennonite writers have increasingly ignored the church. The Brethren in Christ Church, with its Pietist, Anabaptist and since the late nineteenth century, holiness tradition, appears to be close in many ways to the early MBiC as would the Christian and Missionary Alliance. There was at least one other body of "like precious faith." Eventually the similar size and experience of the Missionary Church Association, with its Amish Mennonite, evangelical and Keswickian holiness background was enough to draw the MBiC/ UMC and the Missionary Church Association together. These

two also shared a rural minority Swiss-German “corporate culture” and experienced about sixty years of widespread public ministry by women. A strong foreign missionary movement accompanied these “guiding traditions,”³ any one of which could produce an evangelistic movement, if followed with faith and deeds as James, the brother of Jesus, said.⁴

Mennonite, Evangelical, Methodist

Mennonites in North America have a story long on history but small in numbers. Currently fragmented into over twenty-five organizations, only the unqualified “Mennonite Church” has over 100,000 (adult or believer) members.⁵ In the nineteenth century, the numbers were even much smaller, less than 25,000 for the Mennonite Church at the end of the century.⁶

The first permanent community of Mennonites settled in Pennsylvania in 1683. Up to 1756, 4200 more Swiss and South German Mennonites (including 200 Amish) arrived in eastern Pennsylvania, after which immigration ceased until after the War of 1812. Further Alsace-Lorraine and South German Amish Mennonites and a few hundred Swiss migrated to North America. According to C J Dyck, the total German and Swiss Mennonite and Amish migrants up to 1980 amounted to no more than around 8000. The North American descendants of these are the ones involved in the formation of the MBiC. Starting in 1873-1884, Mennonites from the Holland-Prussia-Russia branch of European Anabaptism, over 60,000, came to North America, and developed their distinct churches and communities. The experience of these northern European Mennonites, modified by sojourns in communist and South American countries, has made them respond to North American life differently than the Swiss-German Mennonites and they enter the story of the MBiC Church sparingly. Mennonites, Amish and Brethren in Christ (BiC—formed in Pennsylvania about 1770) migrated to Canada after the American Revolution, and

were joined by some families coming direct from Alsace-Lorraine and Bavaria. At the time of the Canadian census of 1871, Tunkers and Mennonites, nearly all in Ontario, amounted to a community (adults and children) of about 11,500. This rose to 31,797 counted in the census of 1901.⁷

Historians of North American Anabaptists⁸ agree that for most of the nineteenth-century, Mennonites and their related bodies, such as the BiC and the Amish, had little or no formal involvement in the Evangelical “home” and “foreign” mission movement that was expanding throughout the century, until its very end.⁹ Mennonite leaders resisted pietism¹⁰ and evangelicalism,¹¹ in part, by adapting pietism’s “humility theology,” which accorded with Mennonite aims.¹² Nevertheless, members of the Mennonite communities of Canada and the United States did pick up elements of evangelicalism¹³ in various forms, such as revivalism, Methodism and its related holiness movement, camp-meetings, temperance activity, Sunday Schools and home and foreign missions.¹⁴ Many of the schisms from the Conferences of the Mennonites can be interpreted as separations over the degree of change toward the dominant culture which Mennonite bodies found acceptable.¹⁵ Theological differences cannot be explained fully by social differences, for these continue in denominations for generations and do not necessarily lead to schisms.¹⁶

Once they found themselves outside the Mennonite Church, the “New” Mennonites were able to select more readily from the means of evangelism as practised in North America. The “claims” of the non-Christian peoples of the world were heard with the ears of evangelicals, and foreign missions became a possibility. This was how the General Conference Mennonites,¹⁷ the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church, and the Defenceless Mennonite Church¹⁸ became involved

in missionary labours in the nineteenth century.

European Precedents

Some North American Mennonites were aware that in fact, the Mennonite Church in Holland had organized its own missionary society in 1847. After some years of supporting British Baptist missions financially in Burma, the Dutch Mennonites sent out their own missionaries, Pieter and Jacoba Jansz to Java, in 1851.¹⁹ Their example was not very influential because the Mennonites in Holland were considered in North America to be very close to the “world” or liberal. Nevertheless, European Baptist and pietistic influences touched Mennonites in Russia, leading to the revival which produced interest in missions and the Mennonite Brethren fellowships.²⁰ The Mennonite Brethren Church, having a membership of about 1800 believers by then, sent their first missionaries from Russia to India in 1889, at first in cooperation with the American Baptist Missionary Union of Boston, but soon under their own direction.²¹ South German Mennonite immigrants to the western United States took with them interest in the Dutch mission, and in 1859 three such congregations in Iowa and nearby Illinois organized to raise money for home and foreign missions.²²

Again, although the “Russian” Mennonites were starting to emigrate to North America from 1870 onward, they did not have easy fellowship with the old Swiss-German Mennonite communities of North America. Many did join the General Conference Mennonites, however.²³

North American Methodism

The channel for the older communities of Mennonites in North America to think of foreign missions often came in the form of German-speaking Methodist and pietist revivalism in their neighbourhoods, in particular, the Evangelical Association and the Church of the United Brethren

in Christ,²⁴ or in areas where German-speaking Methodists were less common, the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. The Evangelical Association deliberately targeted any settlement of Germans of any religion. Their attitude was, “The Evangelical Association has often gone where she was not wanted, but never where she was not needed.”²⁵ English-speaking Canadian Methodist bodies in Upper Canada before the 1850s do not appear to have been a direct influence unless it was so in York County.²⁶ At least one Evangelical Association congregation, the Townline Church, Kaiserville (now Jane Street and Steeles Avenue, Toronto) first listed as part of the Waterloo Circuit in 1840, and sometimes served by the Markham Circuit until 1870, came under the Yonge Street Circuit of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada 1870-1884.²⁷

Although this connection comes after the schism of 1874, it is significant that the Elkhart County “Bethel Church” that formed around Daniel Brenneman in 1875, started a union Sunday School with the United Brethren in Christ in 1876.²⁸ Brenneman (1834-1919) also acknowledged the closeness he and the Reformed Mennonites felt to the Evangelical Association.²⁹

Speaking more for the American experience, Edmund Kaufman in 1931 summarized his investigation:

The Mennonite Brethren in Christ have had from their beginning an interest in missions which is largely due to their great emphasis on emotional evangelism and the missionary interest already awakened in the smaller groups that formed this body in 1883. Besides the influence of some of the larger denominations, such as the Methodists and Baptists, the missionary activity of the General Conference Mennonites was also a factor which encouraged greater activity in this direction.³⁰

One example of such contacts that directly led to constituent groups of the MBiC Church, is seen in the activities of Daniel Hoch (1806-1878), a pastor of the Mennonite Church since

1831 at The Twenty (an area including Vineland) in the Niagara peninsula of Upper Canada. He, with the congregation's Bishop Jacob Grosz³¹ and others, tried to introduce such methods as "prayer meetings, freedom of expression in church meetings, and holiness." C J Dyck adds, "Here too missions and unity received primary attention."³² The prayer meetings around 1847-1849 gained Hoch and Grosz the accusation of being Methodists, and in fact "Evangelical Methodists" (Evangelical Association members) were present and prayed in some of the prayer meetings they led.³³ Grosz did join the Evangelical Association after being put out, but Hoch did not, instead he travelled, visiting scattered Mennonite families who continued under the nickname "New Mennonites."³⁴ Frank Epp, perhaps unfairly, portrays Hoch as a leader who wanted episcopal powers for himself, a charge which was laid against Daniel Brenneman as well.³⁵

General Conference Mennonite Church

Hoch was supported by John H Oberholtzer, who had been expelled by the Pennsylvania Mennonites in 1847, and who was also open to fellowship with other Christians.³⁶ He supported Sunday Schools, but was hesitant about emotional prayer meetings.³⁷ When his small Conference in eastern Pennsylvania and another consisting of one Ohio church and a few connected with Daniel Hoch in Ontario heard of the Iowa churches' call for fellowship in 1859, Oberholtzer attended their 1860 conference. Hoch was chairman of the second conference in 1861.³⁸ The formation of a missionary society was one of four items on the agenda of the first conference, which also included a plan to unite the three small Conferences. This was the founding of the General Conference Mennonite Church.³⁹ Fund-raising for missions continued, but it was not until further unions of Russian Mennonites to the General Conference Mennonites and church-related high schools graduated missionary-minded students that the General Conference appointed

its first missionary candidate, S S Haury, in 1872. After more training and searching, Samuel Haury and his wife Susannah settled on a cross-cultural mission to the Arapahoe people of Oklahoma in 1880.⁴⁰

The Ontario members of the General Conference Mennonite Church had organized a “Home and Foreign Mission Society of the Mennonites” in 1859, and so also the East Pennsylvania Conference in 1866.⁴¹ Before this, however, some followers of Oberholtzer in Pennsylvania found themselves put out of the “New Mennonites” Conference and organized in 1858 under the name Evangelical Mennonite Society.⁴²

New Mennonites in Ontario and Pennsylvania

The disagreement over Hoch’s treatment by such leaders as the venerable first bishop of the Canadian “Old” Mennonites, Benjamin Eby from Waterloo, Ontario,⁴³ and support for prayer meetings led to the separation of scattered “New” Mennonites in all three areas of Mennonite settlement in Ontario: at Blair, Breslau and New Dundee in Waterloo County, at Gormley and Dickson’s Hill in Markham (York County) and at the Twenty, in Lincoln County.⁴⁴ These congregations did not stay united to the Pennsylvania-based General Conference movement, for they felt free to unite with another splinter group from the Mennonite Church in the 1870s, the “Reforming Mennonite Society.”⁴⁵

Reformed Mennonites

Fresh disturbances in Mennonite Conferences arose over revivalism and holiness camp meeting behaviour in the early 1870s.⁴⁶ John Fretz Funk (d 1930), who early in his career had been converted in Chicago in 1858 and participated in D L Moody’s Sunday Schools, started a newspaper for Mennonites in 1865 and set up a publishing house in Elkhart, Indiana, in 1867. His

paper carried the first letter, in 1865, urging Mennonites to participate in foreign missions but it would be another generation that would see the beginnings of it. He promoted the use of Sunday Schools. Funk also preached, with Daniel Brenneman, in the first “protracted meetings” in a Pennsylvania Mennonite church in 1872.⁴⁷ The evangelistic meetings were a controversial method among Mennonites. Those in Indiana and Ohio who defended the revival activities in Ontario were excommunicated eventually in 1873 and 1874. The division in the United States is well reported,⁴⁸ and recognizes the Canadian impulse.⁴⁹

The protracted meetings and prayer meetings in Ontario centred around Solomon Eby (1834-1931), pastor of the Port Elgin Mennonite congregation, and Daniel Wismer, a minister in Waterloo County. Eby and his congregation heard the joyful testimonies of their neighbours, the Port Elgin Evangelical Association, in 1869.⁵⁰ Perhaps some of them were among the Evangelicals who “professed the experience” of perfect love in the 1868 camp-meeting of the American National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness.⁵¹ Eby’s church tried having revival prayer meetings early in 1870:

...about New Year’s of the next year [ie 1870], a great revival broke out, and almost all of the church members and a few outsiders accepted Christ anew and came into an experience where they realized a complete change of life...the report went around that “the church in Port Elgin all went Methodist.”⁵²

Daniel Wismer (1820-1909) in Waterloo led a similar revival based in prayer meetings, and converts were gained. After instruction, they were presented for baptism in the summer of 1870, but the majority congregation in Waterloo would not accept them unless the converts agreed to give up the “new things.” Eventually, a bishop from New York baptized the candidates.

Solomon Eby wanted to practice a more open communion.⁵³ Daniel Wismer⁵⁴ could not

go that far, and later returned to the main Mennonite Church. Eby promoted the benefits of the new measures on a trip to Indiana in 1872, where he met Daniel Brenneman.

By the spring of 1874, Eby and his congregation, Wismer, Brenneman, and another Indiana minister serving at Bronson, Michigan, John Krupp (1840-1911), were all out of their churches, and immediately decided to unite as a Mennonite Society. The invitation to do this in May, 1874, went out to all “that believe in a present salvation by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, have experienced pardon of their sins and have had the evidence of their acceptance with Christ.”⁵⁵ These words reveal the evangelical and pietistic theology of personal Christian experience that the new fellowship emphasized.

When the new society met at Port Elgin in their first formal “Semi-Annual Conference” for Canada in September 1874, they reported their proceedings (at least in English, for they appointed Conrad Bolender Secretary in German) under the name “Reforming Mennonite Society,” and listed three ordained ministers (Eby, John Bear [Baer], and Wismer), one “Preacher on Trial” (Noah Detwiler), plus “Exhorters, Deacons, and Class Leaders.” Holding “Semi-Annual Meetings” was a Mennonite practice, but “Class Leader” was standard Methodist language. Most interestingly, a guest was present, Eusebius Hershey, the itinerant preacher of the Evangelical Mennonite Society of Pennsylvania.⁵⁶

Evangelical Mennonite Society

The Oberholtzer group experienced two schisms in its first ten years, but still went on to become the second largest Mennonite denomination in North America.⁵⁷ Both schisms were in support of still more borrowing from the evangelical mainstream.⁵⁸ The second division, in 1857, associated with William Gehman, was again over the use of prayer meetings where personal

religion was cultivated—“heavily influenced by the broader trend of Protestantism in the direction of expressive religiosity”—and is called by J B Graber an example, along with the Brenneman schism, of “pietistic assimilation”.⁵⁹ Eusebius Hershey, converted and first a preacher with the United Brethren in Christ Church, was one of the Oberholtzer ministers from the 1840s⁶⁰ who followed the Gehman group.

In 1867, Hershey was part of the committee that produced a first *Doctrine of Faith and Church Discipline of the Evangelical Mennonite Society* (“Discipline” being Methodist terminology), which, while acknowledging the teachings of Menno Simons, added statements on evangelical conversion, and two ways of a call to ministry—directly from God, and by the choice of the Church. The *Discipline* also encouraged the “missionary cause” and set up a “Home and Foreign Missionary Society of the Evangelical Mennonite Society of East Pennsylvania” to organize such work, mainly awareness and fund-raising, but emphasizing home mission work, such as Hershey was engaged in.⁶¹ Perhaps they were influenced by the action of the General Conference Mennonite Church Pennsylvania Conference which had organized their own “Home and Foreign Missionary Society” the year before, as earlier mentioned.

Mergers and Missions

Eby and Brenneman were well aware of the New Mennonites of Ontario, and immediately contacted them for union in May 1874. This happened promptly in March 1875 at Bloomingdale, Waterloo County, and produced the “United Mennonites.”⁶² Missionary work was explicitly encouraged.⁶³ Four years later, the United Mennonites and the Evangelical Mennonites of Pennsylvania united to make, naturally, the Evangelical United Mennonites.⁶⁴ Meanwhile, Daniel Brenneman began the denominational paper, *The Gospel Banner*, in 1878.⁶⁵ A German edition,

Evangeliums Panier, was published from 1879 to 1896. Missions were mentioned, but not often, in those early issues, a modern index recording none in 1878 or 1879 (when the paper was monthly), once in 1880, when it became a biweekly paper, twice in 1881, and three times in 1882 when Timothy Brenneman, a son of Daniel, became the editor.

The Canada Conference of the Evangelical United Mennonites in 1881 organized a fund-raising society exclusively for foreign missions, with \$233.25 collected in the first year. Most of this was sent to support Samuel and Susie Haury, the General Conference Mennonite missionaries in Oklahoma.⁶⁶ The Pennsylvania Conference (membership was 286 in 1883) followed the next year with a plan for separate collection boxes for home and foreign missions at the doors of the churches, and reports to be given at the Quarterly (local church) Conferences. \$12.64 was collected that year for foreign missions.⁶⁷

The 1882 General Conference of the Evangelical United Mennonites, which was the first one, resolved that each of the three Annual Conferences (Canada ie Ontario, Pennsylvania and Indiana) devise a collection system for foreign missions “and report the same to the next General Conference.” In 1883 came the last of the early mergers, as one splinter group of Ohio Brethren in Christ and individuals of another joined the Evangelical United Mennonites, producing the more stable name, the MBiC Church, which was to last until 1947. The 1883 merging conference likewise heard about foreign missions, as Hershey announced that the new church would soon have a foreign missionary—probably meaning himself, as he claimed that long before, God had given him a vision that he would go to Africa.⁶⁸

The Canada Conference fund raising method was eventually seen as deficient, for in 1891, when missions interest was again high, layman Peter Shupe wrote an article for the *Gospel*

Banner with a plan for a “self-denial fund” as a way of “raising Missionary Money” which got support from an anonymous Canada Conference member the next year.⁶⁹ In this period the editor of the *Gospel Banner* often slipped in small motivational clippings from missionary magazines, mostly of the “millions are perishing daily, what are YOU going to do about it,” or “Americans spend their money on so many things, often harmful, but give pennies to missions” type. In an editorial on “where giving should go” in 1893, H S Hallman listed in order of priority first “our Poor Fund,” then “the work in the west”: Elder A A Miller’s itinerant evangelism in Nebraska and Iowa, including donations for a tent for “Bro Kauffman of Kansas Mission.” “Then I think there will be a grand opening for us in the foreign mission field to help along, or send a man, or support one, in Africa or India, or any other field.” (Not to be too precise!) He ended by saying that, of course, he assumed his readers were giving for their minister, sabbath school, poor on their field, and Home Missions should not suffer....⁷⁰ These are perhaps the key reasons why not much was actually done immediately.

The MBiC Church “was more of a federation of several districts which acted more or less independently.”⁷¹ Hershey’s own Conference, Pennsylvania, was protective of its authority, which it had exercised already for twenty-five years. Repeatedly, at the General Conferences which were held usually every four years, each Conference was made responsible to conduct its own missionary program, and proposals for a general denominational mission board were rejected. Even in 1904, when a motion for a general board was again defeated, all the petitioning Conferences could get was permission that Conferences that wished to, could band together. In 1920, when a “general” board was finally approved, Pennsylvania Conference still won the right to opt out if it wanted to, which it did. It was the only one to do so.

This did not mean that Pennsylvania Conference members were not interested in foreign missions. Hershey was followed by at least 27 other members in the period up to 1951.⁷² The Conference had its own board and policy, which emphasized sending and supporting people under existing missionary societies, which in practice meant the self-proclaimed non-denominational mission the Christian and Missionary Alliance (C&MA), the United Orphanage and Mission Society among Armenians in Turkey and occasionally others. It was not until 1941 that a Pennsylvania Conference member was assigned to a mission field administered by the other Conferences' mission board. Besides supporting some missionaries from other districts, many Christian missionaries were supported from the Conference for various periods, who were never members- 64 individuals in the period 1890 to 1951.⁷³

The First Member Missionary

In 1889, a new editor for the denominational magazine was elected, Henry S Hallman (1858⁷⁴-1932), who published 21 items related to missions that year,⁷⁵ and 21 again in 1892. The spate of missions articles in 1889 caught the eye of Eusebius Hershey.⁷⁶ In 1890, at 67 years, he announced he was finally able to fulfill what he had believed God assured him he would do, that is, preach the gospel in Africa.⁷⁷ Because of his age, his Pennsylvania Conference would not send him, though members gave what unofficial support they could,⁷⁸ prayed for him and followed his letters in the *Gospel Banner* with amazement, and after his death, showered blessings on the Liberian Methodist John Washington, who translated his preaching and cared for him in his last days of sickness in May 1891.⁷⁹

Hershey did not choose a place in Africa at random: he was attracted by the missions of American Methodist Episcopal missionary bishop William A Taylor, whose holiness leanings and

life of faith were radical enough to get the admiration of many in the MBiC Church.⁸⁰ Hershey knew Taylor, and preached at a Methodist Episcopal Conference meeting in Indianapolis shortly before going to Liberia. The interest in the Taylor missions continued after Hershey's death, judging by the reprints of missionary news in the *Gospel Banner* from Taylor's missionary magazine *African News*. Taylor died in 1902.

Hershey's death stirred the members of the MBiC to sacrifice more. His example was the inspiration for numbers of younger members to volunteer for missionary work.⁸¹ The denomination still did not have a sending structure, so these had to go out under existing boards, although some were supported by their congregations and conferences.

The correspondence with Washington in Liberia also got some members to think over mission strategy in the Church. Seven individuals wrote the *Gospel Banner* in response in 1892. Among those writing were Elder J Traub in Umatilla, Florida,⁸² E Anthony, John L Linden in Emaus [sic], Pennsylvania, H L Weiss, writing from Indiana, and Peter Shupe. At least two of the writers became foreign missionaries themselves. Washington had challenged the MBiC Church to sponsor some young Liberians to study for ministry in North America to replace Hershey, and numbers of people sent in some money for that purpose. Weiss wrote that that would take too long, that what was needed was for consecrated preachers to go immediately. Shupe mentioned the second coming of Jesus was a reason that the time was too short for years of training. People should go either through Taylor's missions or A B Simpson's C&MA.⁸³ Free Methodist *Vanguard* magazine editor Anna Abrams wrote to say that the Free Methodists already had some young Liberians on their way for training, and they would appreciate any help they could get!⁸⁴

Rural Minority Culture

The missionary efforts of the MBiC Church can be better appreciated with the help of some statistical notes. Canadian census takers were not inhibited by constitutional blocks to prevent asking people what was their religion. Comparable statistics for the United States were not obtained until 1916. In particular, the 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911 censuses demonstrated that a few denominations held the loyalty of the overwhelming majority of Canadians. Anabaptists in Ontario of 1871 (where most Canadian Mennonites were to be found) amounted to .3% of the Canadian population. In 1901 all Anabaptists amounted to .6%, and the MBiC were about 10% of that total.⁸⁵ The census did not differentiate between varieties of Mennonites, but the MBiC did publish their own detailed membership statistics annually in each district, and following the quadrennial General Conferences.

Canadian and American MBiC were people of the country or small towns—Kitchener (Berlin until 1915) being the largest “urban” centre with an MBiC church building (1877)—and that town was only about 12,000 in 1900. In the United States, a “class” was organized in Goshen, Indiana by Daniel Brenneman who lived there, in 1878. This was the first Mennonite church in the town (population was only 13,000 even in the 1950s). It took twenty years for the membership to be strong enough to construct their first church building in 1895, followed by a building in Elkhart in 1896.⁸⁶ Apart from the individual effort of Janet Douglass in Grand Rapids, Michigan in 1884, recognized by the Indiana and Ohio Conference, a month of successful tent meetings at South Bend, Indiana, in 1895 was the first attempt of the church to begin pioneer work in a city.⁸⁷ It involved both men and women preachers. The following year more deliberately a mission was opened in Dayton, Ohio.⁸⁸ H S Bender says the MBiC were the only Mennonites who were successful in developing “indigenous” city congregations, that is, gain

converts from the cities, not ethnically Mennonite.⁸⁹ This turn to the cities was in common with other Anabaptist groups, although a new and strange environment for them, (whereas it was not so strange for holiness-oriented groups): the Mennonite Church had attempted its first urban mission in Chicago in 1893, and similarly the BiC Church in the same city in 1894.⁹⁰

Of 180 ordained “elders” (all male) profiled in Huffman’s *History of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church*, 120 had no more than “common” or elementary school education.⁹¹ Eight ministers continued into high school, and 36 had a combination of some semesters (often no more than two) of high school, Bible Institute, business college or correspondence courses. Twenty-four of the 36 were elders ordained since 1900, indicating a moderate rise in educational achievement. Only three ministers completed a university programme, and two of those programmes were medical.⁹² The third minister was J A Huffman, who completed several theological degrees. This contrasts with the ministry of the major North American churches, but was typical of Mennonite ministers, and reflected the educational opportunities and values of rural areas.⁹³ Student mobilizing groups such as the Student Volunteer Movement could only touch the MBiC by report: so few members were college students. The first missionary mentioned as being a “college graduate” was Barbara (Anderson) Embree who went to Nigeria from the Nebraska Conference in 1923.⁹⁴

Women in Public Ministry

The evangelical movement included streams that encouraged wider public Christian roles for women. This is not the place to review that development in the nineteenth century.⁹⁵ The Methodist movement in particular, starting with John Wesley’s example, and renewed in the holiness movement,⁹⁶ saw women testify, preach, pray, evangelize and act as pastors.⁹⁷ This

increased freedom for women was part of the experience that set the MBiC Church apart from the Mennonite Church of the nineteenth century. Women's participation in prayer meetings and in giving public testimonies led in time to exhorting and conducting meetings where men were present.

The Brethren in Christ, especially in the city of Chicago area or frontiers such as Kansas where Wesleyan holiness influence was the strongest, went through a similar though truncated development. As in many traditions, women among the Brethren were allowed to be active in home (1880s) and foreign missions (1890s),⁹⁸ but access to "homeland" pastorates was closed, with minimal exceptions.⁹⁹ The Evangelical Association in Canada did not provide a model in this case,¹⁰⁰ although in the United States the church had female home and foreign missionaries,¹⁰¹ and women "evangelists" who assisted male preachers in revival meetings as singers and counsellors at the altar.¹⁰² After the expulsion from the Mennonite Church, members of the MBiC were free to use English in ministry, and the influence of German-language revivalism declined. The main models for female ministry seem to have been women preachers of the holiness churches such as the Free Methodists: Nancy Schantz from New Dundee, Ontario,¹⁰³ Hattie Bates in Michigan,¹⁰⁴ a holiness evangelist in Michigan, Mrs S B Shaw,¹⁰⁵ and especially the example and writings of "ardent holiness advocate" Laura Maines, a Free Will Baptist in Michigan.¹⁰⁶ The first women preachers of the MBiC were young and used English;¹⁰⁷ note the generally English environment of the female role models. It is possible the example of Salvation Army women who were preaching in many Ontario towns from 1882 onward, as they already had in the United States since 1880, provided a more remote example; remote, because of their military style and urban orientation.¹⁰⁸ Young Canadian Methodist women went out preaching from 1884 as well.¹⁰⁹

J A Huffman notes that to Mennonites (including the MBiC), “That sisters would ever be called to preach was not dreamed of.”¹¹⁰ It was through the evangelical and pietistic tradition of individual dealings with God including the call to preach, and the highly valued activity of “aggressive evangelism,” that women workers in the MBiC were accepted. Evangelistic results were strong evidence for the blessing of God—“God owning his own word.”¹¹¹

Eventually great numbers (around 450) of women, unmarried, widows and married, (especially in western Conferences whose husbands were also preachers) participated in church work that in some Conferences (eg Ontario) was highly organized. Although the status of “ordination” was not granted, in some Conferences women were “dedicated” and many women considered this ceremony as equivalent to ordination.¹¹² Women were listed as “pastors” in many Conferences’ statistics. In Pennsylvania, after what appears to be a dispute over control, Mrs Lucy (Brunner) Musselman, a widow of a member of a prominent Conference family, led out the women to form under her son’s direction, a nominally interdenominational city mission organization in 1898. This move unfortunately effectively ended the official play of women in the Annual Conference for a long time. Elsewhere, the acceptance of women in pastoral leadership in the church lasted longest in the Conferences started by Ontario (Michigan and the Canadian North West), and in the small far western American Conferences of Nebraska and Pacific/West Coast/Washington.¹¹³

It does not appear that many evangelical women who wanted to serve God and the Church in wider spheres deliberately chose foreign mission work because they believed they could do on the mission field what they could not do in their homeland,¹¹⁴ but in some cases they did accomplish those sorts of church leadership not allowed in their home churches.¹¹⁵ After the

creation of the UMS, women were encouraged to get ministry experience in the city missions before appointment to a foreign field.¹¹⁶ At least forty MBiC women city mission workers went overseas from 1898 to 1947, twenty-four (out of a total of 44 women involved) going before 1918.¹¹⁷ Cornelia Pannabecker was one of the few single workers who had no city mission experience, perhaps accounting for some of her self-doubts in Nigeria.

Even before the middle of the twentieth century, an increasing number of female missionary applicants had prepared through formal training in Bible College, nursing school, or teachers' college, and not through experience in the city missions. As with the men, the day of ministry in the MBiC with "common school" qualifications was passing.

1. This thesis uses "MBiC" as an abbreviation for Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church, although "MBC" was used freely by church members, because the names of other denominations, especially the Mennonite Brethren Church, are given the abbreviation "MBC," leading to some confusion in the indexes of Mennonite historical works. "MBiC" also preserves the Brethren in Christ connection and matches the common acronyms of that church ("BiC" or "BIC") and the United Brethren in Christ ("UBiC," although "UB" is also common).

2. John C Wenger, ed, "Documents in the Daniel Brenneman Division," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 34 (1960) 56.

3. Timothy Paul Erdel, "Five Theological Traditions which Gave Rise to and Guide the Missionary Church and Bethel College," Class handout, Division of Religion and Philosophy, Bethel College, 1997. Erdel describes the five, naming them Anabaptism, Pietism, Wesleyan-Holiness Movement, Keswickian-Holiness Movement, and Evangelicalism.

4. James 2:14-25.

5. World-wide, Mennonite and BiC churches have recently passed the one million membership mark, with most of the growth in non-western churches ("South" and "East"), especially Africa. James L Horsch, Lynette Wiebe and Doris Mendel Schmidt, eds, *Mennonite Directory 2001*, Vol. 3, (Scottsdale, PA: Faith & Life Resources, 2001), 239.

6. The following paragraph in the text summarizes Cornelius J Dyck ed, *An Introduction to Mennonite History: A Popular History of the Anabaptists and the Mennonites*, 3rd ed, (Scottsdale, PA and Waterloo, ON: Herald Press, 1993), 196-204. 25,000 members would become a community of well over 50,000 when allowing for children under the usual age of baptism. By that time, the MBiC had about 3500 adult members in the United States, or roughly 15 % of the Swiss-German Mennonite Church population. The Brethren in Christ in Canada and the United States had about 2000 or more adult members in 1880, Carlton O Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience: The Story of the Brethren in Christ* (Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press, 1978), 132.

7. Jack Scott, *Canada's Religious Composition Profile Studies*, 1971 Census of Canada, Vol V, Part 1 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1976), 5-10.

8. "Anabaptist" seems to be an acceptable name for churches related to or descending from the Radical Reformation movement that became known as Mennonite, such as BiC, Hutterite Brethren and Amish. J Howard Kauffman and Leland Harder, *Anabaptists Four Centuries Later: A Profile of Five Mennonite and Brethren in Christ Denominations* (Scottsdale, PA and Kitchener, ON: Herald Press, 1975), 50.

9. Eg Theron Schlabach, *Gospel Versus Gospel: Mission and the Mennonite Church, 1863-1944* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1981), 28. For the BiC, see Wittlinger, 162. A valuable older study is Edmund George Kaufman, *The Development of the Missionary and Philanthropic Interest Among the Mennonites of North America* (Berne, IN: The Mennonite Book Concern, 1931). The terminology of "home" and "foreign" missions has been widely abandoned in favour of terms emphasizing cultural distance or no distinctions at all. Throughout most of the period of this study (to 1978), the terms were almost universal.

10. Concerning pietism, cf Roger E Olsen, *The Story of Christian Theology: Twenty Centuries of Tradition and Reform* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1999), 475: "Personal experience of God, then, was the Pietists' focus and emphasis...A change of life called conversion must take place at some point at or after an age of awakening of conscience, and it must be accompanied by a transformed heart—a new set of affections for godly things..." European pietism was primarily a German phenomenon, and it was the German connection that continually touched nineteenth-century Mennonites and Amish. "German Baptists" (Dunkards, Church of the Brethren) and Tunkers (River Brethren, Brethren in Christ) had pietist influences from their beginnings. "German Baptists" was also used of the Baptists who formed what is now the North American Baptist Conference, but they are largely unrelated.

11. For other strategies of resistance, see Bruce L Guenther, "Living with the Virus: The Enigma of Evangelicalism among Mennonites in Canada" in George A Rawlyk, ed, *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 223-254. The index of this volume confuses the Mennonite Brethren Church and the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church.

12. Schlabach, *Peace, Faith, Nation*, 28-32. Joseph C Liechty, "Humility: The Foundation of Mennonite Religious Outlook in the 1860s," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 54 (January 1980), 5-31.

13. Defining Evangelicalism is a lively ongoing activity of scholars, from those like Clark H Pinnock, who see it as a coalition without theological coherence ("no theology...a patchwork quilt"), "Evangelical Theology in Progress," in Roger A Badham, ed, *Introduction to Christian Theology: Contemporary North American Perspectives* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998), 76, to Alister McGrath who defends that coherence (eg *A Passion for Truth: The Intellectual Coherence of Evangelicalism* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1997). Historians look to more than theological criteria, eg David Bebbington, "Evangelicalism in Its Settings: The British and American Movements since 1940," in Mark Noll, David Bebbington and George Rawlyk, eds, *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1900* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 367, who has argued for the four characteristics he calls, for convenience, "Conversionism, activism, biblicism, and crucicentrism". He notes that American scholars sometimes do not recognize the Cross as an evangelical emphasis. While diversity certainly exists now on a huge scale (cf Gregory A Boyd and Paul R Eddy, *Across the Spectrum: Understanding Issues in Evangelical Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2002)), and in the past was wider than the moderate Calvinism of some spokes-people, eg see Timothy L Smith, "The Evangelical Contribution," in Garth M Rosell, ed, *The Evangelical Landscape: Essays on the American Evangelical Tradition* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1996), 61-74, especially p 73, evangelicalism in the period under review in this thesis claimed dominance as a kind of norm against which diverse movements in North America and Britain related themselves. A convinced "Apostles Creed orthodoxy," while not unique to evangelicalism, is surely essential to it as well, and should not be neglected in scholarly searches for "differences".

14. Wilbert R Shenk, *By Faith They Went Out: Mennonite Missions 1850-1999* (Elkhart, IN: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 2000), 29-91 explores these interactions. When Mennonite Church missions began, they also assumed the evangelical pattern in theology and practice. Not until some time after Harold Bender's "Anabaptist Vision" writings did Mennonites ask what a distinctly "Mennonite" missiology might be. That came after about 1950 (Shenk, 43). Recently the "Anabaptist Vision" project itself has been questioned: Timothy Paul Erdel, "Pedagogy, Propaganda, Prophetic Protest, and Projection: Dangers and Dilemmas in Writing an Authorized Denominational History," unpublished paper for the 2002 Conference on Faith and History, Huntington College, Huntington, Indiana, October 2002, 9, and references.

15. The church of Mennonites for a while was known informally as the "Old Mennonite" or "(Old) Mennonite" Church and not was organized in a general Conference until 1898 at the urging of John Fretz Funk. Robert Bates Graber, "Archival Data on Pennsylvania-German Mennonite Schisms 1778-1927," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 57 (January 1983) 45-63, reviews the cultural and theological diversity question.

16.Eg, Graber, 62, notes that economic differences “fail miserably” to correlate with the four schisms in the Lancaster (PA) Conference. C Mark Steinacher’s study of the Christian Connexion in Canada likewise did not find clear economic differences between those who joined that church and their neighbours who did not, “An Aleatory Folk: An Historical-Theological Approach to the Transition of the Christian Church in Canada from Fringe to Mainstream, 1792-1898,” ThD Thesis for Wycliffe College, Toronto School of Theology, 1999, 258-259.

17.Missionary activities of the General Conference Mennonite Church that were related to the MBiC and its fore-runner bodies will be reviewed, pages 22ff.

18.Dyck, 3rd ed, 305; Stan Nussbaum, *You Must Be Born Again: A History of the Evangelical Mennonite Church* ([Ft Wayne, IN]: Evangelical Mennonite Church,1980). Although not written to discuss “influences” on an Amish church leading it into foreign missions, Nussbaum’s book notes evangelical theology of personal repentance and faith (page 2), evangelical practices (perhaps via example of the General Conference Mennonites), 9, and holiness teaching of the Christian and Missionary Alliance variety shown in the narrative from 1890 onward especially, when missions became prominent, 16-23. Mathilde Kohm, the first member of this church to go into foreign missionary service, went to the Congo in 1896 with the Christian and Missionary Alliance, before evangelist Joseph Ramseyer, influenced by the C&MA, was no longer recognized as a Church member. She went from city mission work in Chicago. In 1900 she returned to the Congo under the Swedish Missionary Society. However, the Church’s interest in missions was permanent from then on.

19.Alle Hoekema, *Dutch Mennonite Mission in Indonesia: Historical Essays* (Elkhart, IN: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 2001), 25-26.

20.Dyck, 3rd ed, 268, 277, 283; Russian Mennonites sent their first missionary to Java in 1868. George W Peters, *Foundations of Mennonite Brethren Missions* (Hillsboro, KS and Winnipeg, MB: Kindred Press, 1984), 16-28.

21.Ibid., 36-37. Shenk, 56. Peters, 130-134, tells of American Mennonite Brethren who joined the German Baptist Missionary Society of Berlin to the Cameroons in 1894-1898.

22.Dyck, 3rd ed, 254.

23.Samuel Floyd Pannabecker, *Open Doors: The History of the General Conference Mennonite Church* (Newton, KS: Faith and Life Press, 1975), 84-119.

24.See Table 5. As one sign of MBiC affinities, of 18 ministers of the MBiC who served before 1920 whose pastoral work in other denominations are recorded, six served at some time with the United Brethren in Christ, and one (possibly two) with the Evangelical Association, (Jasper Abraham Huffman, ed, *History of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church* (New Carlisle, OH: Bethel Publishing, 1920), 222-275). The profiles are not a complete record of MBiC elders. No Baptist connections are noted, except Jacob Hygema attended a Free Will Baptist College in the 1890s. For a general statement of the pietist and Methodist orientation of the Evangelical

Association and the Church of the United Brethren in Christ, see Robert T Handy, *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 169-170. Frank H Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974), 142-146, missed this Evangelical Association connection in his account of the division at the Twenty, although, 261, he noted Grosz joined the Evangelical Association. Both the United Brethren in Christ and the Evangelical Association were embroiled in bitter internal disputes in the 1880s and 1890s and each experienced serious splits. Likewise the Church of the Brethren had conservative and progressive sections spinning off in 1881 and 1882, respectively. J H Moore and J L Gillin, "Dunkers, Dunkards, Tunkers," *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, Vol 4 (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1950 [reprint of 1909 ed]), 24-27.

25. S P Spreng, *The Life and Labours of John Seybert: First Bishop of the Evangelical Association* (Cleveland, OH: Lauer and Mattill, 1888), 248.

26. William J Hilts, son of Godfrey Hilts, born at Victoria Square, Markham Township, York County in 1842, was listed as a local preacher in 1876 in Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada reports. Douglas Walkington, "Methodist Episcopal Church 1835-1884: Statistics from Annual Reports," 47. [United Church of Canada Archives] Hilts was an MBiC probationer from 1877. *Minutes of the Third Annual Conference of the United Mennonites of Canada* 6 April 1877. The profile in Huffman, *HMBiC*, 243, names his earlier affiliation ambiguously as the "Evangelical Methodists" which was used for the Evangelical Association. The Evangelical Association had a circuit in the 1840s that included "York, Vaughn [sic], Markham and Whitechurch". Raymond Albright, *History of the Evangelical Church* (Harrisburg, PA: The Evangelical Press, 1942), 413. Spreng, 265-266, says the Evangelical Association bishop, John Seybert, preached in a Lutheran Church north of Toronto (probably Zion Lutheran, Vaughan Township) and ordained a deacon for the Evangelical Association, a sign of their presence, but also that they had no regular meeting houses in the 1840s. Paul Himmel Eller, *History of Evangelical Church Missions* (Harrisburg, PA: Evangelical Press, 1942), 104, mentions the circuit was short-lived partly because of Adventist (ie Millerite) distraction. An earlier Hilts, Joseph Henry (1819-1903) (sometimes Hiltz) was an Episcopal Methodist preacher (*Experiences of a Backwoods Preacher: or, Facts and Incidents Culled from Thirty Years of Ministerial Life* (Toronto: Methodist Mission Room, 1887), whose family lived near what became Acton. It is not clear if they are related.

27. Patricia Somerville and Catherine Macfarlane, eds, *A History of Vaughan Township Churches* (Maple, Ontario, Canada: Vaughan Township Historical Society, 1984), 222-224, 259-260.

28. *Bethel 1875-1968* [Elkhart, IN: Bethel Church, 1968], appendix. This historical booklet for their anniversary cites Sunday School records which commenced with entries in 1876.

29. Daniel Brenneman to C Henry Smith, ca 1908, reprinted in *Reflections* Spring and Fall, 2002 (6:1 & 2) 49-50. Brenneman explained why they did not join with the Dunkards, Quakers, Evangelical Association, or Free Methodists. The Evangelical Association helped the most by opening their church buildings when the Reformed Mennonites were not welcomed by the

Mennonite churches. This edition of Brenneman's letter includes pages missing at the time of Wenger's edition in 1960.

30. Kaufman, 262.

31. Hoch was written as "High" in English documents, and Grosz became "Gross". For biography of Daniel Hoch, see "Hoch (High), Daniel," by S F Pannabecker, *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Vol 2, 770; Theron Schlabach, *Peace, Faith, Nation: Mennonites and Amish in Nineteenth-Century America* [The Mennonite Experience in America series, Vol. 2] (Scottsdale, PA and Kitchener, ON: Herald Press, 1988), 110-113; and L J Burkholder, *A Brief History of the Mennonite Church in Ontario* ([Markham, ON:] Mennonite Conference of Ontario, 1935), 179-185. See also Samuel J Steiner, *Vicarious Pioneer: The Life of Jacob Y. Shantz* (Winnipeg, MB: Hyperion Press, 1988), 118-132, esp 121, n 14 on biographical sources.

32. Dyck, 3rd ed, 254. Wilbert R Shenk, *By Faith They Went Out: Mennonite Missions 1850-1999* (Elkhart, IN: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 2000), 69, particularly mentions Hoch's interest in the Dutch Mennonite missionary work. Albright, 412, says a bishop (ie Grosz) and others (he names Jacob M Moyer and Joseph Frey) were "converted" through Evangelical itinerant preachers twenty miles "north" [sic] of Niagara; cf Spreng, 249, "This, says Seybert, caused an earthquake in their society, and a great schism." Evangelical Association records indicate a "Jacob Gross" was licensed in 1846, and stationed on the "Niagara District, Waterloo Circuit." This would likely be a younger relative or the date is an error. A Stapleton, *Annals of the Evangelical Association of North America and History of the United Evangelical Church* (Harrisburg, PA: Publishing House of the United Evangelical Church, 1896), 276-277.

33. John H Oberholtzer, ed, [ET typescript by an Old Order Mennonite, Isaac R Horst, *Disclosure of the Persecutions against Daniel Hoch Preacher of the Mennonite Church in Upper Canada from the German edition of Pennsylvania, 1853*], 2, 7, 26 and other places. This document corrects the early chronology of Samuel Floyd Pannabecker, the author of several chapters in the first official denominational history, Huffman, *HMBiC*, 37-38, which students of the Church's history still rely on. S F Pannabecker, whose father Nelson Pannabecker was an MBiC pastor in Michigan, and who was a nephew of Cornelia Pannabecker, became a General Conference missionary to China in 1923 with his twin brother Dr C Lloyd Pannabecker, Tina Block Ediger, *Window to the World: Extraordinary Stories from a Century of Overseas Mission 1900-2000* (Newton, KS and Winnipeg, MB: Faith and Life Press, 1999), 8-9; and personal communication, Mrs Ella Mae (Tremain) Chester to Lois Fuller, September, 1996. S F Pannabecker was a historian of the General Conference Mennonite Church, and served as the president of its graduate school, Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Elkhart. A younger brother, Ray P Pannabecker, became president of Bethel College of the Missionary Church in Mishawaka, Indiana.

34. Oberholtzer, 35.

35. Epp, 144-145. Genealogical details can be found in Ivan Groh, "The Hoch-Moyer Family Squabble," in Barbara F Coffman, Ivan Groh and Helen Wismer, eds, *Canadian-German*

Folklore: Tales of the Twenty (np: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society of Ontario, 1979), 88-90, and more in fictional form in Barbara F Coffman, *Samuel Fry the Weaver and Mennonites of the Twenty* (np: Pennsylvania-German Folklore Society of Ontario, 1982).

36.Dyck, 3rd ed, 257, cf 265: "In 1853 Oberholtzer published an article about Methodist mission work, the first of many on the subject."

37.Ibid., 416.

38.Harold P Shelly, *The Bible Fellowship Church: Formerly Mennonite Brethren in Christ, Pennsylvania Conference, Originally die Evangelische Mennoniten Gemeinschaft von Ost Pennsylvanien* (Bethlehem, PA: Bible Fellowship Church, 1992), 63.

39.Dyck, 3rd ed, 258. Samuel Floyd Pannabecker, *Open Doors: The History of the General Conference Mennonite Church* (Newton, KS: Faith and Life Press, 1975), 50-51, notes that Ontario-Ohio delegates were present in the 1861, 1863 and 1866 General Conferences, but not 1869. Interestingly, Eusebius Hershey of the Evangelical Mennonite Society was present in 1863, and voted, probably as an individual, rather than as representative of his Society.

40.Dyck, 3rd ed, 268. The answer to the amusing but useless question of who was the first "North American Mennonite foreign missionary" for a long time was admitted to be MBiC (or Evangelical Mennonite Society/Bible Fellowship Church) itinerant preacher Eusebius Hershey who went to Liberia in 1890. But if one prefers a cross-cultural definition of missions, Haury (1872/1880) would qualify, Shenk, 69. Or if you accept someone who "sent himself," there is self-redeemed American slave George Liele (ca 1750-1828) who founded an Anabaptist church in Jamaica, Timothy Paul Erdel, "I Wish I'd Been There: "Negro slavery's prophet of deliverance"," *Mennonite Historical Bulletin* 62:3 (July 2001) 8-9.

41.J Bruce Behny and Paul Himmel Eller, edited by Kenneth W Krueger, *The History of the Evangelical United Brethren Church* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1979), 170, report the United Brethren in Christ formed their "Home, Frontier and Foreign Missionary Society" in 1853, and sent their first foreign missionary in 1854. The Evangelical Association had a centre of "vigorous activity" 12 miles from William Gehman's church in Pennsylvania (S F Pannabecker, *Open Doors*, 34), and began their foreign missions in Germany in 1851, and Japan, 1875 (Behny, Eller and Krueger, 213-215).

42.Graber, 60, comments on the later history of the churches resulting from the 1857 Gehman schism but is mistaken, supposing the descendants were part of the Missionary Church in 1983. In fact, the MBiC Pennsylvania Conference went its own way after 1952, declining to accept a General Superintendent and a centralized new constitution with the other 7 Conferences, adopted the name Bible Fellowship Church in 1959, and declares itself holding "a unique combination of Reformed doctrines with insistence on 'Believer Baptism' and Premillennialism." Eileen W Lindner, ed, *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches 2002* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2002), 75.

43. This is seen in the long rambling letter of protest sent to Eby by Samuel B Bauman of Carlisle, Waterloo Township in Waterloo County, October 23, 1852, printed in Oberholtzer, *Disclosure*, 18-41.

44. As the congregations were drawn from scattered rural families, precise meeting locations varied widely over the years and were named in various ways. These names represent the spread of the movement, Huffman, *HMBiC*, 39.

45. S F Pannabecker in *Mennonite Encyclopedia 2*: 770, says Hoch parted from Oberholtzer in 1869. S F Pannabecker, *Open Doors*, 35-38, presents evidence that the "Ontario and Ohio Conference" never truly united with Oberholtzer. Hoch is not known to have taken part in the union of the New Mennonites and the Reformed Mennonites in 1875, (he was in his 69th year).

46. Camp meeting behaviour among Methodists and the Evangelical Association could be vigorous and noisy, even before camp-meetings were adopted to promote holiness, C Mark Steinacher, "The Homogenization of Methodism: An Examination of the Convergence of Aspects of Polity and Revivalist Practice in Upper Canadian Methodism, 1824-1884," ThM thesis, Emmanuel College, Toronto School of Theology, 1992, 131-165.

47. Henry Egly (Egli) who led what became the Defenceless Mennonite Church used revival methods from 1858, and was separated from the Amish Conference in 1865 because of it, Nussbaum, 2; cf Walter H Lugibihl and Jared F Gerig, *The Missionary Church Association: Historical Account of Its Origin and Development* (Berne, IN: Economy Printing Concern, 1950), 17, which just mentions revivalism and rebaptizing of unconverted members in 1864 as the efficient cause. The Missionary Church Association was born in 1898 after several leaders of the Defenceless Mennonites were excluded in 1896 for introducing holiness and in particular C&MA doctrines into the church, including baptism by immersion, even of believers baptized by pouring. The Missionary Church Association merged with the UMC in 1969.

48. Besides the accounts in Huffman, *HMBiC*, 45-52, and Storms, *HUMC*, 39-44; Wenger, 48-56.

49. See also Burkholder's kindly account from the Mennonite side, 188-196; Epp, 154, notices the Canadian initiative in the Eby and Brenneman schisms (even at 1888, over half of the members of the MBiC Church were Canadian).

50. Donald J Pletsch, "The Evangelical United Brethren Church in Grey and Bruce Counties" in Neil Semple, ed, *Canadian Methodist Historical Society Papers Vol 2* ([Toronto]: Methodist Historical Society, 1997), 181, the Port Elgin Evangelical Association congregation was started in 1854, and erected a building in 1868.

51. Timothy L Smith, *Called Unto Holiness: The Story of the Nazarenes: The Formative Years* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962), 16.

52. Huffman, *HMBiC*, 42.

53. Isaac R Horst, *Close Ups of the Great Awakening* (Mt Forest, ON: Self-published, 1985), . To what extent Eby wanted to allow participation in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, is a question for further study. In May 1874, (English minutes reprinted in *GB*, 8 December 1949, 8), the new Conference agreed that "all such as have peace with God...and are willing to support those Gospel principles such as non-resistance,...Non-conformity to the world,...Adult Baptism...and feet-washing, are invited to participate...." Perhaps Eby moved from this position later. For many denominations in the nineteenth century, and certainly for Mennonites, participants had to be members of the church by whatever standards the church laid down ("close communion"). People in revival movements, united in the grip of a subset of doctrines, might not easily deny fellowship at the Table to those who shared the experience. The UMC in the 1955 Constitution affirmed open communion, *Proceedings of the Seventeenth General Conference of the United Missionary Church...1955*, 62, but that was no new practice..

54. Wismer was listed as a minister of the United Mennonites in 1875, migrated to Kansas in 1877, was ordained a bishop in the Mennonite Church there in 1887, and returned to Waterloo County, worshipping in the Mennonite Church, Burkholder, 313.

55. Quoted in Huffman, *HMBiC*, 52, in English, though the original language may have been German.

56. *Proceedings of the First Semi-Annual Conference of the Reforming Mennonite Society*, page one, is an illustration in Storms, *HUMC*, between pages 62 and 63. The actual founding conference was held May 15, 1874 in Berlin (Kitchener), Ontario, adopting the name "Reform Mennonites." Its minutes were reprinted in *GB*, 8 December 1949, 8, and clearly referred to missions by citing the Great Commission verse: "RESOLVED, That the Itinerant system be adopted, and the Missionary cause supported to the extent of our ability (Matt. xxviii. 19.)."

57. The General Conference Mennonite Church and the Mennonite Church have recently merged (2001).

58. Graber, 60. Graber describes the Hunsicker division as producing an "assimilative splinter group" leaning toward ecumenism. The group died out eventually.

59. Ibid.

60. Huffman, *HMBiC*, 242.

61. Ibid., 69-70. See also Storms, *WGHW*, 149. Hershey was by far the most widely travelled itinerant from Pennsylvania Conference (Shelley, 75-79).

62. *An Account of the Proceedings of the First Conference of the United Mennonites*, p 1, reproduced in Storms, *HUMC*, between pages 62 and 63.

63. Huffman, *HMBiC*, 54.

64. Daniel Brenneman was also talking union about 1880 with Daniel S Warner, who was to go on to found the holiness “restoration movement” denomination, the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana), and published a book on second work of grace for him, John W V Smith, “Holiness and Unity,” *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 10 (Spring 1975), 33. This union of forces never came to pass, but it shows the activity of Evangelical United Mennonite Church leaders searching for like-minded people to join, rather than a feeling that only their group was correct. General and Annual Conference minutes over the decades frequently mention union talks with other holiness groups: Missionary Church Association, Free Methodist Church, Pilgrim Holiness Church, Evangelical Methodist Church, Defenceless (Evangelical) Mennonite Church, Christian and Missionary Alliance, are the most frequently named partners. Daniel Warner later denounced the MBiC as a “daughter of the Mother of harlots” in his radical rejection of denominationalism; Daniel Brenneman, *GB*, 1 December 1889, 4. Brenneman recalled that Warner had neglected to pay the publisher for the book.

65. An earlier paper, published in Berlin, died after one issue.

66. Huffman, *HMBiC*, 186. *GB*, 1 July 1882, 101.

67. Storms, *WGHW*, 150-151.

68. *Ibid.*, 17; Eusebius Hershey, letter, *GB*, 1 February 1891, 12.

69. The issue of 1890 publishing Peter Shupe’s letter has not survived in the archive collections of *Gospel Banner*; A Lover of God’s Cause, “Self-Denying System,” *GB*, 1 June 1891, 17.

70. H S Hallman, “Where the Money is Needed,” *GB*, 14 March 1893, 9.

71. Storms, *HUMC*, 76.

72. *General Conference Journal...1900*, 25, noted, “Our little denomination is at present supporting nine missionaries directly. Pennsylvania Conference takes the lead in this work, they supporting [sic] six missionaries...Canada Conference supports two...Indiana and Ohio Conference...one.” The cumulative number is derived from Storms, *WGHW*, passim, his *Mennonite Brethren in Christ Handbook 1946*, and similar *Handbooks* published by him through Trinity Publishers until 1952, with a few changes required by information in Shelly, *The Bible Fellowship Church*.

73. Statistics also taken from Storms, *WGHW*, passim, except V G Plymire has been shifted to count him as Pennsylvania Conference member. Converted through the women’s society, he worked as a member of the Pennsylvania men’s evangelistic society for four years; (Shelly, 194). All but 10 of the 64 were under the C&MA, which had its American headquarters in Harrisburg, eastern Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania Conference took on the support of C F Snyder’s wife, Phoebe Brenneman, who was from the Indiana and Ohio Conference. Sara Klahr, a city mission worker from Owen Sound, Ontario, to Chile in 1903, who when she married W H Fledges in 1906, had her support also taken on by Pennsylvania. From 1925, Pennsylvania also paid for

various UMS appointees; (Shelly, 209).

74. The date given on his tombstone in the Mennonite Cemetery in Kitchener is 1858. Huffman, *HMBiC*, 240, has 1859. Hallman passed through a pentecostal phase around 1908, (he lost his position as editor for refusing to stop publishing articles about "tongues"), was pastor of an independent Tabernacle in Ohio, worked as an editor for the C&MA, and pastored Alliance churches in Brantford and Toronto (Everek R Storms, "Hallman, Henry S," *ME* 2:636). He kept his membership with the MBiC and the esteem of many in the church. He was on boards or committees of the Ontario Conference throughout his working life.

75. The MCIA collection was missing most of 1890 and 1891 at the time of microfilming, and the indexer could only list three articles, all in 1 August 1890, and five for 1891. Emmanuel Bible College has a complete set of 1891.

76. Daniel G Ziegler, "In Search of Eusebius Hershey," (1983), unpublished 71 page article in personnel files, Storms Collection, [MCIA], 46. The articles were by William J Gladwin, of Miles, Iowa, an independent missionary of 18 years experience, appealing for volunteers to go to India, *GB*, 1 September 1889, 2-3,5, and 15 September 1889, 2. At the Pennsylvania Conference's 7th Annual conference early in 1890, Hershey had asked "permission to travel to India,...this year if God would open the way. Permission was granted." Quoted in Ziegler, 50. Before long Hershey must have switched his plan to go instead to Africa, for when Bishop William Taylor heard of Eusebius' plan, he urged him not to go, Ziegler, 54; Eusebius Hershey, letter of 27 February added to on 10 March, *GB*, 15 April 1891, 9.

77. Leaving his wife Mary behind, as Hershey said they had agreed at their wedding.

78. Ziegler, 52; Pennsylvania's 8th Annual conference on Feb 3rd 1891 decided to send Hershey the "Heathen Missions" fund.

79. John S Washington, "Letter from Africa," *GB*, 15 July 1892, 9. An ambiguity in Huffman, *HMBiC*, 242, suggests that Hershey's mission area was Sierra Leone. This has led to an error in Shenk, 69. Hershey's ship touched at Freetown and he preached there, but Liberia was his goal.

80. David Bundy, "The Legacy of William Taylor," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 18:4 (October 1994)172-176. There were also Free Methodist missionaries in Liberia. Hershey mentions that five of them died in the year just past, and two of the Methodist Episcopal mission.

81. The first being William Shantz of Breslau, Ontario, another being Henry L Weiss of Pennsylvania.

82. J Traub, "Open Door," *GB*, 15 August 1892, 13, said Hershey "has got the Mennonite Church awake to missions" and he hoped "it continues." Traub was from the Zionsville, PA, congregation, one of the original Evangelical Mennonite Society churches, T H Brenneman, "Gospel Banner Beginnings," *GB*, 25 October 1917, 10-11.

83. H L Weiss, Letter; and Peter Shupe, Letter, *GB*, 15 September 1892, 12.
84. Anna Abrams, "Africa," *GB*, 1 November 1892, 3. Interestingly, Hallman kept Free Methodist Church literature like books by the Canadian author Albert Sims or American B T Roberts, in the *Gospel Banner* office for the denomination "since they were considered to be the closest in doctrine" at the time, Storms, *HUMC*, 217. The question of Baptism would be a major difference with all Methodist groups.
85. The rough figure of 10% is produced by simply doubling the stated membership total to produce an estimate of the "MBiC community" including children.
86. Harold S Bender, "Goshen," *ME*, 2:546; idem, "Elkhart," *ME*, 2:186, gives the population of Elkhart in the 1950s as 35,000. A Mennonite Church was organized in Elkhart in 1871, the oldest Mennonite city church in North America, apart from Philadelphia.
87. Storms, *HUMC*, 251, Huffman, *HMBiC*, 202-203.
88. *Ibid.*, 202-213. The initial efforts of various Conferences may be indicated as follows: Indiana and Ohio: 1895: South Bend; 1896: Dayton; 1897-98: Elkhart, IN; LaFayette, IN; Kalamazoo, MI; New Carlisle, OH; Greenville, OH; Gibson City, IL; Bloomington, IL. Ontario: 1898-99: Collingwood; St Thomas; Woodstock; Owen Sound; 1899-1902: two in Toronto; St Catharines; Aylmer; Sherkston; Guelph; Waterloo. Pennsylvania: c 1896-7. Michigan: 1897: Grand Rapids. Nebraska: 1897. Not all of these were truly urban locations.
89. Harold S Bender, "City Missions," *ME*, 1:604.
90. Schlabach, 302-303, after great hesitation by the Mennonite Conferences; and Wittlinger, 174. The BiC had approved the plan in principle in 1890. The major churches of Britain and North America had conducted "city missions" for generations, since they were present in the cities, but the second half of the nineteenth century, with the growth of cities in North America, produced consciously urban mission programmes.
91. See Table 5.
92. Huffman, *HMBiC*, 222-275. Seven of the 13 for whom no information about education is mentioned were ordained in the period before 1883, and perhaps their school experience was unknown by 1920. The profiles are fairly standardized as though following a form. The list is not complete, omitting, for example, missionaries Calvin F Snyder, T Ford Barker, others who served only a few years, and the ordained men who left the church over pentecostalism in 1908.
93. According to Robert K Burkinshaw, "Evangelical Bible Colleges in Twentieth-Century Canada" in Rawlyk, *Aspects*, 374, "During the 1920s and 1930s only about 15% of Canadian students graduated from high school."

94. Storms, *WGHW*, 54. William Shantz spent three years at the C&MA missionary training institute in Nyack, and others took tropical medicine courses (Ira Washington Sherk, Livingstone College, London). Dr Elizabeth Hawley qualified in medicine and went to Turkey initially under another mission; *idem*, 87. Ellis A Lageer, "Rev. Carl T. Embree," *MB*, June 1953, 13, says Carl Embree attended one year each at The Bible Institute of Los Angeles and Northwest Nazarene College, in Idaho. Presumably he met Barbara Anderson at one of these.

95. For women in missionary work, R Pierce Beaver, *All Loves Excelling: American Protestant Women in World Mission* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B Eerdmans Publishing, 1968); Fiona Bowie, Deborah Kirkwood and Shirley Ardener, ed, *Women and Missions: Past and Present, Anthropological and Historical Perceptions* (Providence, RI: Berg Publishers, 1993); Marty E Martin, ed, *Women and Women's Issues. Volume 12. Modern American Protestantism and Its World: Historical Articles on Protestantism in American Religious Life* (Munich: K G Saur, 1993), and the later chapters of Ruth A Tucker and Walter Liefeld, *Daughters of the Church: Women and Ministry from New Testament Times to the Present* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1987).

96. Lucille Sider Dayton and Donald W Dayton, "“Your Daughters Shall Prophecy”: Feminism in the Holiness Movement," in Martin, 236-261. The article examines only the American Methodist holiness experience. For Canadian Methodism, cf Elizabeth Gillan Muir, *Petticoats in the Pulpit: The Story of Early Nineteenth-Century Methodist Women Preachers in Upper Canada* (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1991) and Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, "Modest, Unaffected and Fully Consecrated: Lady Evangelists in Canadian Methodism, 1884-1900," in Neil Semple, ed, *Canadian Methodist Historical Society Papers* ([Toronto]: Canadian Methodist Historical Society, 1994), 18.

97. Cf Rosemary R Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), x, says the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada "employed more than 300 single women" in Canada, China and Japan in its period of operation. The Methodist Church had nearly 292,000 members in 1902, George H Cornish, ed, *Cyclopedia of Methodism in Canada Vol 2* (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1903). Ruth Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 4, notes that in 1914 more than 100 Canadian Presbyterian single women were serving in China, Formosa, India, Korea and Trinidad. Many were employed as teachers, but many would have spoken publicly or instructed adult males, not a normal role in North American congregations. The Canadian Presbyterians also had nearly 300,000 members about 1900, John S Moir, *Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* ([Toronto]: Presbyterian Publications, [1975]), 194.

98. Some "firsts" being Sarah Bert (city missions, 1894), Rhoda Lee (who stimulated the BiC General Conference to act on foreign missions (1894-1895), Hettie Fernbaugh (Morocco under the World's Gospel Union, Dec 1894), and the first to volunteer for Africa under the BiC, Frances Davidson (Southern Rhodesia [Zimbabwe], 1897).

99. Wittlinger, 522-525.

100. J Henry Getz, ed, *A Century in Canada* [on cover:] : *The Canada Conference of the Evangelical United Brethren Church 1864-1964* (Kitchener, Canada: George C Spaetzel for the Committee on Centennial Observance and the Historical Society of the Canada Conference of the Evangelical United Brethren, 1964), 12, "In 1899, the Conference Deaconess Society was organized. After forty years of testimony, it seemed wise to discontinue the organization." That is the total record of the deaconess organization in Getz' book. The deaconess movement in the United Brethren in Christ (New Constitution) which was approved by the church in 1897 was similarly judged a "failure"; Behny, Eller and Krueger, 234.

101. The first Evangelical Association female foreign missionary from the United States, other than a wife, was Rachel Hudson, appointed to Japan in 1876; Eller, 198. The first from Canada went in 1909, Ann Roloff; Getz, 21.

102. Behny, Eller and Krueger, 160, say that by the time of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ new constitution of 1889, women were allowed to join the regular ministry even to ordination. The "liberal" New Constitution allowed membership in secret societies, which would have discouraged MBiC interest in their programmes.

103. John Wilkins Sigsworth, *The Battle was the Lord's: The Story of the Free Methodist Church in Canada* (Oshawa, ON: Sage Publications, 1960), 193-194. According to R Wayne Kleinsteuber, *Coming of Age: The Making of a Canadian Free Methodist Church* ([Mississauga, ON]: Light and Life Press Canada, 1980), 15-16, a "Sister Smith" had led the church in Galt, Ontario, that became the first congregation of the Free Methodists in Canada, in 1876. "In 1879, Valtina Brown became the first woman sent out by the Church." By 1882, their Canada Conference listed no less than ten women in ministry. Nancy Schantz, actually from a New Mennonite home, (Charles H Sage, *Autobiography of Rev. Charles H Sage* (Chicago, IL: Free Methodist Publishing House, 1903), 88), had been converted through the preaching of Free Methodist C H Sage, who came from their Northern Michigan district and led revival meetings in Ontario in 1876. Sage urged her to seek appointment with her New Mennonite conference, but at that time (ca 1880) they did not use women preachers, so she joined the Free Methodists.

104. Huffman, *HMBiC*, 152. He calls her a "former" Free Methodist at the time.

105. Storms, *HUMC*, 250-254. The husband of Mrs Shaw, Solomon Benjamin Shaw, of Grand Rapids, moved from Methodist Episcopal to Wesleyan Methodist to Free Methodist to his own Primitive Holiness Mission/ Church. Charles Edwin Jones, *A Guide to the Study of the Holiness Movement* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1974), 256, 741.

106. Huffman, *HMBiC*, 153. Several articles by her were published in the *Gospel Banner* in the early 1880s. According to Jones, 691, "Lura Ann [sic] Maines (1847--)" allied with S B Shaw as principal of a short-lived holiness school, "Mizpah Academy," in rural southern Michigan about 1890, under an equally short-lived "Primitive Holiness Mission."

107. Janet Douglass (Michigan, 1883—she was 19), Mary Ann Hallman (from Waterloo County, Ontario, 1885—18 years), Katie Hygema (Indiana, 1885—30 years), Mary Nunemaker (Indiana, 1886—32 years), Euphemia Pool Guy (Ontario, entered ministry the year of her marriage 1888—30 years) are among the earliest. Cf Hallman's testimony of conversion, "Experience," *GB*, 15 January 1889, 4. She says her call to preach was "obeying God" and credits no human example. Her justification: "I have...been able to see many precious souls born into the kingdom..." Others served briefly or were not recorded except by letters to the *Gospel Banner* in the years before formal recognition, eg, Maria Block and "Sister Eby" from Canada in Grand Rapids, Michigan, *GB*, 15 August 1889, 12, or Mrs E Risdon. Block shows up in Pennsylvania Conference lists in 1898.

108. Robert G Moyles, *The Blood and Fire in Canada: A History of the Salvation Army in the Dominion 1882-1976* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1977), 6-10. New Brunswick-born T Ford Barker served with the Salvation Army eleven years before joining the MBiC in 1896.

109. Whiteley, 20, found the Salvation Army was definitely a stimulus to the Methodist women in Canada.

110. Huffman, *HMBiC*, 151. However, John F Funk noted that John Krupp was in favour of women speaking in public before Krupp was removed from the membership in 1873. Wenger, 52 n17.

111. Compare the comments of a newspaper correspondent quoted in Whiteley, 23, concerning the first lady evangelist (L H Dimsdale) of the Methodist Church of Canada in 1887: "...about the best test is, does God bless the means? If so, then let us honor and give encouragement."

112. Personal communication, Eileen Lageer, a City Mission Worker herself 1946-47 before going to Nigeria in 1950; similarly Hazel (Hill) Etcher, interview by the author, August 1988, who ministered 1943-1951, and was dedicated 1947. As Jason C Garnaat, "In Memory of Her: A List of Over 500 Women in North American Ministries in the Missionary Church and Its Predecessors," *Reflections: A Publication of the Missionary Church Historical Society* 3:2 (Fall 1995) 5, points out, in many statistical tables, the years in which women were dedicated were listed in the same column as the men's years of ordination. The author has adapted and extended the list in Garnaat for the MBiC/UMC for this statistic.

113. At the time of the Second World War, as elsewhere in North America, there was a great shift in culture that discouraged the practice of women's leadership. Cf Rebecca Merrill Groothius, *Women Caught in the Conflict: The Culture War Between Traditionalism and Feminism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1994), 15-17. There was also a turn in the MBiC/UMC toward the ecumenical evangelicalism of the National Association of Evangelicals in the United States. Many non-Wesleyan evangelicals taught against the leadership of women in the church. In many churches, the alternative practice to female ordination of setting up "deaconess" ministries, based on a mistaken translation of Romans 16:1 and a post-biblical tradition, has not proved attractive to many Christian women.

114. Tucker and Liefeld, 303, quote Lottie Moon, the famous Southern Baptist missionary, "What women want who come to China is free opportunity to do the largest possible work... What women have a right to demand is perfect equality."

115. Lydia Huffman Hoyle, "Nineteenth-Century Single Women and Motivation for Mission," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 20:2 (April 1996) 58-64, found some Protestant women did consciously see the mission field as a place where they could have more responsible positions in church work, but it was one of a number of motivations mentioned in the application forms she studied. Frank A Salamone, "Feminist Mission Sisters: Nurses, Midwives, and Joans-of-All-Trades. The Dominican Sisters in Nigeria," in Philip M Kulp, ed, *Women Missionaries and Cultural Change* (Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, 1987), 31-46, found the same mix of motives in twentieth-century Roman Catholic sisters in Nigeria. Some famous examples of females leading in foreign missions in the nineteenth century would be the successive wives of Adoniram Judson; Mary Smith Moffat in Central Africa, Mary Slessor in Calabar, Nigeria; Isabella Thoburn in India; and Canadian Dr Susie Carson Rijnhart at the Tibetan edge of China. These and five other female missionaries (mostly educators in India) are most of the women named in Robert Hall Glover, *The Progress of World-Wide Missions* 4th ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1939 [1924]), a widely used text-book in Bible College missions courses in the first half of the twentieth century. The twentieth century had many more remarkable female apostles of the Christian gospel.

116. This was the experience of Isabelle Hollenbeck from Michigan, for example, (Ray P Pannabecker, "Holly Celebrates 90 Years," *Emphasis*, March 1984, 6-7), converted in 1912 at 19, who entered her Conference's city mission in 1915, and went to Nigeria in 1923, to serve until 1960. The rules of the UMS expected single women to follow this route.

117. Collected from Storms, *WGHW*, passim; Garnaat, 4-9, and other sources. Eight of the 24 went to Turkey, and seven to Nigeria.

CHAPTER 3

THE HOLINESS-MENNONITE MISSION

As much as they approved of foreign missions, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church was not able to mount a denominational missions effort for over twenty years. This chapter shows that their youth did not wait for a denominational structure before volunteering and going. A significant number of early missionaries came from the women preachers who had also pioneered urban missions for the MBiC in North America. The example of young male and female members in foreign missions, supported by their respective Conferences, convinced some leaders that a General Conference missions board was possible and necessary. A first step was made in 1905, but a structure that was supported by all but one Conference was formed only in 1921. What became the largest and wealthiest Conference in the denomination did not participate in the UMS nearly to the proportion of its size in the Church. The Mission frequently lamented the lack of workers and missed opportunities. Most UMS missionaries did not have the education to study the cultures of the people groups they laboured among to appreciate their response or lack of response to UMS evangelism.

The missions that the MBiC and UMC people took part in initially were of the evangelical holiness movement, Wesleyan and Keswick “deeper life” varieties. Although sometimes associated with other Anabaptists (eg Brethren in Christ in the Hephzibah Mission, General Conference J A Sprunger and the Light and Hope connection, the UOMS) in initial stages, MBiC

members did not cling to Mennonite distinctives as their Mennonite neighbours saw them. After the Second World War, UMC missionaries in Nigeria coming through the Bible Colleges tended to see themselves as evangelicals first, but holiness groups were still their closest associates. The mission in Nigeria looked like many other evangelical missions, but retained a revivalistic Wesleyan character.

Volunteers and Conference Missions 1883-1905

The union of 1883 did not provide for a missionary sending structure, nor did any General Conference succeed in getting enough support for such a structure until 1904. The General Conference of 1888 even withdrew a resolution of 1885 that every minister should preach on foreign missions once a year “on account of the pressing wants of the Home Mission Work.”¹ J A Huffman suggested in 1920: “The church was too busy with the organization and prosecution of home interests to enter so early upon the larger missionary program.”²

Mention has already been made of Eusebius Hershey’s six-month mission to Liberia in 1890-91, and that the next foreign missionary from the MBiC was William Shantz (1866-1936) of Breslau, Ontario. He prepared by completing three years at the C&MA missionary training school in Nyack, New York, and was promised his support by the Ontario Conference, “making him the first missionary officially recognized by the church.”³ He went to China with the Alliance mission in 1895. Two years later, Calvin F Snyder (1871-1963) from Pennsylvania, and Sarah Pool (1862-1913) from Ontario, went to China as well under the C&MA. Snyder, though only converted in 1895, was sent with the backing of his Conference. He married Phoebe Brenneman in 1907, a daughter of Daniel Brenneman, who had been a city mission worker with the Indiana and Ohio Conference. She had served with the Alliance mission in China since 1904.⁴

Sarah Pool, probably a sister of Mrs Euphemia (Pool) Guy, is not mentioned as much in MBiC accounts. She wrote about her conversion two years before, and later sanctification, in a letter of 1889 from Markham, Ontario. She sent testimonies and a poem to the *Gospel Banner* in 1893 from Jordan, Ontario (next village to Vineland).⁵ From 1894 to 1897 Pool was a Conference evangelistic worker, and then she went to China. The Conference foreign mission board received her reports and gave her their approval. After two and a half years in China, sickness forced her to return to Canada (1900) where she joined the Canada Conference city mission, serving first in Owen Sound, St Catharines and then as a “slum worker” in Toronto for a number of years.⁶ She left the church in 1907, charging the church with some spiritual deficiency. A Conference committee was asked to speak with her concerning “certain statements made in a public meeting...expressing disloyalty to the doctrines of our Church.” No report was recorded in that conference or the next 18 months later and Sarah Pool is not mentioned again.⁷

The other two people who became missionaries in early 1897 were Henry L Weiss (1867-1915) and his wife, Kate (Zacharias) Weiss. As a teacher, Henry had already spent seven years in Kansas and Oklahoma in Indian schools. They were officially sent off by the Pennsylvania Conference, under the C&MA, to Chile.⁸ For many years the C&MA effort in Chile drew its workers mainly from Pennsylvania. There had even been some expectation the C&MA would “hand over” the field to the MBiC.⁹

The next seven missionaries all responded to the plight of Armenian orphans left after the 1894-1896 massacres by Turks in what is now eastern Turkey. They came from Pennsylvania (three), Ontario (two), Indiana and Ohio (one—though she was originally from Ontario), and one who came to be counted with the Indiana and Ohio Conference.¹⁰ The one who took action

first, Rose Lambert (1878-1975),¹¹ was a daughter of George and Amanda Lambert. Her father and two of his brothers served in the Indiana and Ohio Conference, but he joined a Mennonite Church congregation in Elkhart, Indiana in 1896 (temporarily?), and set out on a visit to India to assess the famine there. It was partly his reports, book and persuasion that turned both the Mennonite Church and the General Conference Mennonites' interest in missions into action in India and Armenia beginning 1898.¹² His stories impressed his 20 year old daughter.¹³ She and forty year old Marianne Gerber¹⁴ (1858-1917) were both working at a Deaconess Hospital in Cleveland, Ohio, one of the institutions including a number of orphanages, under the name "Light and Hope Association," begun by John A Sprunger. Described by Schlabach as a "maverick" entrepreneurial Mennonite, Sprunger was a Swiss-born General Conference Mennonite who settled in Berne, Indiana.¹⁵ An Armenian who had escaped the massacres visited their hospital, appealing for help with orphans.¹⁶ The two women went that very year. A non-denominational mission board was formed in 1901 with mostly MBiC board members. According to Everek Storms whose parents were two of them, practically all its mission staff came from the MBiC.¹⁷ Support for the mission came from a number of sources, including Evangelical Association congregations and Mennonites in Europe and Russia before the first World War and after that, mainly from the MBiC.¹⁸ The Society worked in cooperation with the older (Congregational) American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Turkey, and suffered along with the Armenian people through several more massacres.¹⁹ By 1938, when the last missionaries were withdrawn, 25 missionaries had served. Everek Storms represents the withdrawal as an example of successful indigenization, partly required by "conditions" in Syria (which then included Lebanon), where the Armenian refugees had fled in 1920, but also because there were Armenians,

“well qualified men, both academically and theologically,” giving leadership in the churches (the Armenian Spiritual Brotherhood) which had been raised by the Society, Rev Abraham Seferian and others.²⁰ The Brotherhood organized affiliated groups in the Armenian diaspora (especially the United States and South America). Thus he refers to two of the three “self” principles, self-governing, and self-propagating. The mission made no regular financial remittances either after that date, so we might conclude the Armenian church fulfilled all three conditions.²¹ Contact with the Brotherhood by the North American church has been sporadic and personal through individuals who knew the missionaries, and rarely church to church.²² A Bible School called Ebenezer, was started by the Brotherhood in Beirut, Lebanon, in 1957, and Virgil K and Anna Margaret (Neufeld) Snyder were supported by the UMS to help establish it along with partner missions. Ethyl Young, UMS missionary to Egypt under Peniel Mission spent four or five months in Beirut with the Snyders to assist.²³ This school lasted only a few years.

Besides the C&MA in the eastern United States and Canada, and the Armenian mission, other holiness and faith missions were attracting members of the MBiC at the end of the nineteenth century. From Toronto came the young organizer of the African Industrial Mission (later famous as the Sudan Interior Mission), Salvationist-turned-Baptist Rowland V Bingham. He was recruiting an inter-denominational board in 1898-1900, and spoke to the MBiC Canada Conference in March 1899. *Gospel Banner* editor H S Hallman printed a number of articles by Bingham from the fall of 1899,²⁴ and he found himself voted the Conference representative on the AIM board, (by 1903, one of three trustees²⁵) a position he held for several years. A few weeks later, Hallman spoke to the Michigan Conference about “Industrial Missions.” When Bingham returned from Nigeria discouraged in 1900, the Michigan Presiding Elder, Ebenezer Anthony,

volunteered to join the AIM, perhaps for a short term,²⁶ for a proposed third attempt to establish a base in Northern Nigeria. Bingham responded by attending the MBiC General Conference of October 1900, held in Berlin.²⁷ Bingham and Hallman were both in attendance at Michigan's Annual Conference in March 1901, where Anthony's departure for Nigeria was announced. At this point, there was no mention of two other MBiC members who were about to apply to Bingham's mission, Alexander Banfield, and Althea Priest.

An Almost Denominational Mission

Setting Up a New Mission: The Mennonite Brethren in Christ Missionary Society

(General Board) 1905-1921

Petitions from various Conferences²⁸ at the 1904 General Conference of the MBiC raised hopes among those in favour of a General Board of Missions. The 1892 General Conference had decided that each Conference should send their foreign mission money wherever they wanted, repeating what was said in 1885.²⁹ When asked to consider the question again in 1896, the General Conference delegates resolved the same plan.³⁰

Foreign missions were beginning to be organized by the major Canadian denominations in the latter half of the nineteenth century.³¹ American denominations had organized foreign missions a generation or more earlier, and Canadians had been sent out under those boards. Since the newly-formed MBiC were initially led by a vigorous Canadian Conference, the awareness of Canadian mission agencies moving out may have challenged the leaders to some extent.

During the 1880s, 'the earnest eighties,' the complacent mid-Victorian church—what one might call 'the church sentimental'—was increasingly being taken over by the aggressive young people of 'the church militant.'³²

The Mennonites of Canada shared only loosely in the cultural shifts of the dominant English-Canadian society, but a group like the MBiC were reaching consciously toward a selection of mainstream church life. Support of evangelism anywhere was part of their self-identity.

The young people of the church were going off to non-denominational foreign missions from 1895. They had had the example of loosening a commitment to the (old) Mennonite Church in the name of "the gospel" and were prepared to do some loosening themselves. By the 1900 General Conference, 10 had gone through three agencies; by 1904, seven more in four agencies (UOMS, C&MA, AIM [SIM], Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association). The Pennsylvania Conference began their programme of supporting non-members of their Conference in earnest in 1904 by raising money for two couples to Chile. It would seem to denominational leaders that people and money were flowing out of the church.³³ A similar experience had faced the leaders of the BiC in the mid-nineties, with youth going out under four missions, while their General Conference just talked about missions. Being more unified, the BiC were able to take action as a denomination a little earlier, sending their first missionary group to what became Zimbabwe, in 1898.³⁴ This action seems to have slowed the flow of youth to other agencies.

When Elder Ebenezer Anthony of Michigan was accepted by the non-denominational Africa Industrial Mission (AIM),³⁵ he was 36 years old. Two other younger men had already been approved by the AIM council in Toronto, Baptists Charles H Robinson, and Albert F Taylor. They were in Tunisia studying Hausa, the language of the dominant people in northern Nigeria, and a trade language throughout West Africa.

There was a widespread racist belief among Europeans and missions that the Hausa people and culture³⁶ were the finest Africans in the whole region, and their adoption of Christianity would

make them the instruments to spread the faith to all of West Africa and beyond.³⁷ It was a nice theory, which has not yet been realized in the twenty-first century. The “Soudan Interior Mission’s” first goal in 1893 was, as had been the CMS “Hausa Party’s” in 1890, to reach the cities of the Hausa-Fulani Sokoto caliphate with the gospel.³⁸

Sometime in the fall of 1900, a young Canadian Methodist called Alexander Woods Banfield (1878-1949) entered the East End Mission of the MBiC opened the previous year in Toronto³⁹ and shortly after was converted to God and holiness Christianity.⁴⁰ He later called it a “soul-reviving experience” and linked it with a call to become a missionary to Africa.⁴¹ He quit his well-paying position as a cornet player with the Queen’s Own Rifles regiment because they played in many “worldly” situations which was a concern of holiness groups,⁴² but does not mention Mennonite teachings about non-resistance and separation from military structures. During the day, he worked for less money at his father’s metal works, as a die-maker.

Associated with Alex Banfield was another young Methodist, Althea (“Ella”) Amanda Priest (1879-1966). Her life also shows the mix of Methodist and holiness movement influences. She was converted in “Dr. Watson’s tent preaching,”⁴³ and became acquainted with the MBiC through their afternoon Sunday School on Spadina Avenue. That mission began in 1897. Later she moved to the east side of Toronto and began helping with the Fred Victor Mission where she met a cornet player and song leader, Alex Banfield.⁴⁴ They both normally attended Methodist Sunday Schools. After the MBiC East End Mission opened, the two attended regularly and as converts to the Mennonites were baptized by Presiding Elder Peter Cober. Alex Banfield promptly began taking evening classes at the non-denominational evangelical Toronto Bible Training Institute with pioneer missionary work in mind, for he says he took “systematic Bible

training” in his application form, learned a phonetic transcription method while still in Canada,⁴⁵ and by April 22nd 1901, the secretary of the AIM was sending him the application form! At the time of his application to the AIM, he and Althea were engaged. Neither had ever heard of Eusebius Hershey, for they were new to the denomination, but they heard the “Plea of the Soudan” in prayer meetings and messages by returned missionaries, probably R V Bingham chief among them.⁴⁶ The AIM did not accept Priest’s application, but tacked Banfield onto the three earlier accepted candidates sometime in mid-1901, so that by September, Anthony and Banfield sailed to England to join the two others already there to go on to Nigeria.⁴⁷ Althea Priest joined the city mission movement of the MBiC while Banfield was in Africa, and married him less than two months after he got back in January 1905.⁴⁸

The story of the four men of the first “successful” team of the AIM/SIM, who chose and established their base at a Nupe emirate town of Patigi in 1902, is frequently retold and is not needed here.⁴⁹ Ebenezer Anthony was the leader of the four until sickness made it necessary for him to leave for Michigan in April 1903 with C H Robinson, likewise seriously ill. Banfield, though the youngest, was then appointed superintendent until his furlough came in December 1904. Andrew Stirrett, who reached Nigeria as an independent in November 1902, became the field leader. A F Taylor died of malaria in Bida in late 1903, but by then AIM had sent other missionaries.

In this period, as the name suggests, the Africa Industrial Mission council accepted a self-supporting philosophy for missions and evangelism accompanying instruction in trades.⁵⁰ The Patigi team carried with them equipment to set up such things as equipment for a saw pit, and seeds to plant improved crops.⁵¹ They prepared vegetable and cotton plots on the 200 acres the

etsu (king, emir) of Patigi assigned them. Banfield's application form records his agreement with the principle. Bingham admitted that Banfield had been appointed largely on his "mechanical ability,"⁵² for Alexander had been working for his father's business as a die maker, and had been taking correspondence courses in mechanical engineering. He had learned drafting, photography and electrical wiring. "I loved all kinds of mechanical and electrical work for which I had a natural bent."⁵³ Besides self-support for the mission there was a hope to train Nigerians in all kinds of useful arts and crafts (in the eyes of Europeans), who would be lifted from subsistence agriculture, so the desired Nigerian church would enable further missionary propagation. This may be interpreted as an example of Bosch's characteristic of Enlightenment missions: confidence in cultural superiority.

The AIM/SIM did not escape the effects of the modernist-fundamentalist hardening of evangelicalism.⁵⁴ Gradually the SIM emphasized "direct evangelism"; they dropped the industrial approach and opened clinics as a pre-evangelistic bridge-builder and schools for Nigerians only for the purpose of helping Christians to read the Scriptures in their own languages and gain the basics of a primary school education. Nigerian Christians themselves eventually forced the SIM and other evangelical missions in northern Nigeria to open higher level schools.⁵⁵

During his years with the AIM, Banfield was observing the industrial plan and making his own conclusions. Back in Canada, he resigned from the mission and, in the words of the Canada Conference Foreign Mission Board,

As for the future we have decided, since Bro. Banfield could not feel clear in labouring under the A. I. M.,...to send him out under the church direct, to open a mission. Sister Banfield will accompany him (D.V.) when he returns to Africa, and we hope and pray that God may send others with them. S Eby, P Cober, H S Hallman.⁵⁶

There is no evidence of animosity between Banfield or the Mennonites and the AIM: in later years there were frequent visits, temporary cross-assignments⁵⁷ and even a marriage.⁵⁸ There was talk of amalgamation a few times.⁵⁹ Banfield's "feeling" perhaps shows itself partly by the new mission station he established with Althea at Shonga (now "Tsonga") later that year. The Michigan Conference paid for a pre-fabricated bungalow which he erected on concrete pillars. There was a lot of work involved in the first year,⁶⁰ but there was no great farm, and although as usual a school was commenced, beginning with children accepted from the colonial government's slaves' rehabilitation homes,⁶¹ Banfield himself concentrated on translation of the Bible into Nupe.⁶² There was no talk of a self-supporting mission or "industries." Communication drove him, and language learning the top priority for all those with him as superintendent. At an Inter-Mission Conference at Lokoja in 1910, he got the secretary (Lowry Maxwell of the SUM) shaking his head hearing Banfield recommend two years language study of eight hours a day for new missionaries.⁶³

For the first five years, the missionaries all lived in the bungalow at Tsonga (I),⁶⁴ although with furloughs and medical courses, rarely were all six together. When it was clear the British railway being constructed from Lagos was going to reach Jebba, a further day's journey up the Niger, Banfield applied for land and began constructing a mission house and church building during the dry season of 1909-1910. Jebba (II), the largest town open to the UMS in their accepted sphere in Nigeria⁶⁵ (at the time, the population was estimated at 10,000), became an unofficial headquarters of the mission, since it was a centre of the colonial government, with a "Resident" (to "advise" the local ruler) and had a bank, supply stores, government dispensary and sometimes doctor, and many clerks and workers in construction and maintenance of the railway.

Most of the workers came from farther south and even from Gold Coast (“Accrah”), which is why the mission was able to gather an audience immediately. Christianity had been accepted in a number of Yoruba subgroups since the 1840s; there were some Nigerian Baptists living on the north bank and Yoruba CMS members on the south.⁶⁶ Jebba is in the traditional territory of the Nupe people group, but being on old trade routes from the Hausa lands, and being the first place where easy crossings of the river could be made after miles of rapids downstream from the Borgu town of Bussa,⁶⁷ Hausa and Yoruba communities settled there.

Three of the first four mission stations of the MBiC MS were sited among the Nupe people group, and the fourth, Jebba, was founded where a Nupe community was mid-stream on an island. While the SIM set about starting stations in one tribe after another following their first at Patigi and Bida,⁶⁸ the MBiC MS remained for its sixteen years practically a mission to one people.

If Nigeria has been dominated by three large political and ethnic groupings (Yoruba, Ibo and Hausa), there are several other ethnic groups or clusters that have been the largest in their regions. The Nupe⁶⁹ were and are a large people group living along both banks of the Niger River from roughly 50 kilometres up river from Lokoja to near New Bussa by the Kainji Hydroelectric Dam. Their settlements did not extend far south of the river, perhaps no more than 50 kilometres at the farthest, but as much as 150 kilometres to the north. The territory was not solidly “Nupe,” there being inter-settling of various groups over time. As a language cluster, Nupe has variants that qualify as separate languages by the standards of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.⁷⁰ The Nupe developed a centralized kingdom in the eighteenth century, which did not always include all the sub-groups, in fact, some groups would conveniently deny to be Nupe at all, if it suited the

politics of the day. The city of Bida became the most important in the nineteenth century, and attracted Hausa market traders. Judging by a description of British Wesleyan Methodist missionary John Milum who visited in 1879,⁷¹ Bida had become a city in the pattern of the Hausa city kingdoms, under the Hausa-Fulani dynasty that usurped authority in the third decade of the century. The kingdom has received a fair amount of scholarly treatment.⁷²

A W Banfield and his successor as field superintendent in 1915, Ira W Sherk, were frequently searching for further places for mission stations.⁷³ As early as December 1906, Banfield and his wife visited and began negotiating with the *etsu* of Tsaragi, a Nupe chieftaincy under Tsonga for the time the mission would have enough personnel to open a base there.⁷⁴ Permission was given finally in 1916, but not until 1919 was a Nigerian available to live and preach in the Nupe and Yoruba town.⁷⁵ Jebba was opened in 1909-1910. In January 1911, the CMS handed over a mission station at Mokwa they had not been able to staff with a missionary for two and a half years.⁷⁶ Mokwa was the major town of the Zugurma chieftaincy, which was an indigenous Nupe clan and rivals to the Hausa-Fulani dynasty in Bida.⁷⁷ A young couple, Mamudu and Wusa, both rescued and trained by Banfield beginning in his days with SIM,⁷⁸ were sent to Mokwa (III) to re-open a school and hold church services, to be joined in July by Emma Hostetler and Florence Overholt. Mamudu and Wusa remained in Mokwa until at least 1915.⁷⁹

The AIM/SIM plan had suggested a minimum of four missionaries at any one station,⁸⁰ and the MBiC Missionary Society attempted to follow this plan. As time went on and few recruits were available, stations generally were staffed by two, usually either a husband and wife team, or, which became just as common, two single women. By the time of the organization of the UMS, the pattern was already set in Nigeria. The MBiC MS after 1915 treated Jebba as a

kind of headquarters in fact, if not name, for although the Superintendent generally lived in Mokwa, Jebba had better communications. It was connected to the coast at Lagos by a railway, and by telegraph through Lokoja in 1909, which reduced the mission's dependence on river steamers up the Niger. A bridge was opened in 1916, linking the southern railway to the line on the north side up to Kano and the north which was ready by 1911.

In his travels, Sherk "prospected" for further possible stations. In April 1919 he was writing to mission treasurer, C N Good:

...I returned from a three weeks itineration up-country....Went thru [sic] parts of the country where scarcely any one lives. But went thru other parts where there are oh, so many towns and villages. Visited one town, Kishi, where it was about all real heathen....It was a town of about 10 or 12 thousand I would think. A very suitable place for a Mission Station If we can get it. There may be another Society that will get there when they learn that we are about to go. For they have tried to head us off before. But even then the country is large...I am going to sound the Govt. now about it...Visited another tribe too which I had merely touched on a previous itineration, the Borgu tribe. I wish we had one or two good well educated young men that could come and take it up and reduce the language to writing, for they['ve nothing written as yet. After having learned Nupe, I would not mind learning it too.⁸¹

Kishi, toward the Dahomey border, was visited by Baptists instead, and a UMCA church was organized there only in the latter part of the twentieth-century. The Borgu people finally had Methodist evangelists as their missionaries in the 1940s.⁸²

In 1927, Sherk spent seven weeks touring by bicycle and dugout canoe, stopping at Bena, Yelwa, Bussa and Jega, places mostly along the Niger valley, "centres...where we would love to establish Mission Stations." Sherk particularly noted Jega.⁸³ There was some rivalry with SIM over opening a station at Jega, just as there had been for Zuru.⁸⁴

Another place Sherk found in 1919 was a town at the base of 500 foot high granitic inselbergs just inside the boundary of Southern Nigeria called Igbetti (originally and again now

written "Igbeti").⁸⁵ He obtained permission from the *oba* (king) of Igbeti (V) for a mission site, and a follow-up visit was made in 1920 by William Finlay on his first Nigerian trek. As a first itineration through the Nigerian countryside, Finlay's apostolic experience was all an evangelical missionary could hope for:

I enjoyed my trip to Igbeti very much indeed and was given a right royal welcome by the people everywhere I went. I had the privilege [sic] of giving to many of them their first Gospel Message, and I could never tell you the joy of doing so. How near God came in blessing as we told them in our broken Yoruba language the story of Jesus and His love. They had never heard that Name before, and their minds have been so blinded by sin. My heart went out to them as never before...⁸⁶

Finlay was right that for only some that was the first time of hearing the gospel, as Ijesha Yorubas had been coming to Igbeti for trade for some years during their own Christian awakening in 1896-1914.⁸⁷ Igbeti's people were Oyo Yoruba, however, so while it was known that some of the Ijeshas were Christians, the cultural and political distance between the two sub-groups, amounting to the difference between "tribes" in the minds of many Yoruba themselves, reduced the chance that Christianity would be transmitted to the people of Igbeti by them. Nevertheless, some Ijeshas did witness to their faith.⁸⁸ As among the Yagba Yorubas that SIM found ready to hear Christian teaching in 1905,⁸⁹ there were also a few young men of Igbeti who became Christians in other places and returned to face the consequences.⁹⁰ Despite determined deadly physical and spiritual resistance by the traditional religion (Shango worshippers in particular), people of the town did champion the new religion.⁹¹ Samuel Bello and other Nigerian teacher-preachers were assigned to the town.⁹² North American resident staff were permitted⁹³ and available only in 1929-1932 (Max Powers) and from 1936 onward when Ozro L Traub was assigned after nine months in the country. He brought his wife Viola (Dubro) Traub to Igbeti in 1940, a year after their marriage.⁹⁴

From 1905 to 1915, Banfield was the superintendent in Nigeria, but it was the Canada Conference (Ontario Conference, from 1908) that sent him out under the new General Board of the MBiC. The board was still not really “general.” The 1904 General Conference allowed Conferences to band together. As it turned out, only three, the “Canada”, the “Michigan” and the “Indiana and Ohio” Conferences organized the “Mennonite Brethren in Christ Missionary Society (General Board)” but after a few years the Indiana and Ohio Conference backed out. So distant was the relationship to the General Conference, that the board was not asked to report to the following General Conferences.⁹⁵ The North West Mission Conference advanced to become the Alberta or Canada Northwest Conference in 1906, and it joined in supporting the General Board, but it is plain that the three Conferences were all directly related, the Canada Conference having started both Michigan and Canada Northwest, initially by migration. Elder Anthony was the first chairman, but he died in 1913. Letterhead for the correspondence of the mission from Nigeria listed all Ontario officers in 1915.⁹⁶ Ontario-born Oliver B Snyder of Michigan was included by 1919. It was Ontario in disguise, and the board leaders were not happy about it.⁹⁷

Finances were not advancing as hoped either. The Foreign Missions Conference yearbook for 1918, reflecting 1917 statistics, listed, among many others, the income of the following missions:

SIM (Canada & United States, 40 foreign staff, 1048 communicants).....	\$27,764
Free Methodist Foreign Missions Board.....	\$75,376
UOMS [listed under “Mennonite Missions”].....	\$23,400
MBiC Canada Mission ⁹⁸	[\$11,442]
Pennsylvania Conference, MBiC [all to C&MA].....	\$9,385 ⁹⁹

The General Conference of 1916 had nothing to say about foreign missions except a resolution to pray for foreign missionaries at the end.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps it was a regretted oversight for

some, for early in 1918 the *Gospel Banner* called for readers to send in articles concerning a general board.¹⁰¹ Support came immediately from the Nebraska Conference Presiding Elder Clifford I Scott, and overall, missionaries and smaller conferences were unanimously in favour. Writers listed numerous advantages for the home conferences, Sunday Schools, volunteering candidates, hopes for support and fellowship in more concentrated work for field missionaries. The editor, J A Huffman, did not hide his support leading up to the 1920 General Conference.¹⁰²

The European-based World War stirred the activist leanings of the church. The carnage and effort of the war was used as examples to shame the Church for its inactivity in the spiritual effort. Not many young men in Ontario joined the Canadian army, although a larger percentage in the United States did.¹⁰³ The missionaries in the field were always appealing for more men to apply for mission service, but from 1907, when Ira Sherk joined, only C T Homuth (1911-1918) and Sidney Shantz (1915-1923) lasted more than a term. Independents Allan J and Alice (Leach) Schultz¹⁰⁴ and Harold Pannabecker (a nephew of Cornelia)¹⁰⁵ assisted for a term each. William Finlay who had begun so well, died at Jebba in 1924 of yellow fever.

The United Missionary Society 1921-1978

The General Conference of 1920 was not allowed to pass off responsibility for organizing a general board as had happened in 1904. There were critical remarks made in the Conference about Conferences which showed little interest in co-operative efforts, remarks pointing to Pennsylvania, which had by now become the largest and by far the wealthiest Conference in the Church, and which continued to hold aloof from several General Conference initiatives.¹⁰⁶ A later resolution authorized Samuel Goudie of Ontario to convene an organizing meeting, and set a place (Elkhart) and conditions of representation from the Conferences.¹⁰⁷ This action ensured that

the agenda of the next General Conference would include a report about the missionary organization that all Conferences would have to approve.

Sam Goudie (1866-1951) was clearly a key mover for a denominational mission board. From 1912 to 1943, as the chairman of the Executive Board of the church, which cared for necessary matters that arose between General Conferences (mostly to do with the *Gospel Banner*), Goudie urged the church to authorize a booklet on non-resistance (1918) reprinted by other Mennonites, and a catechism (1930), both of which he wrote.¹⁰⁸ He convened the planning meeting in Elkhart, Indiana, in January 1921, and the first conference of the “United Missionary Society” in October the same year. Denominational editor from 1913 to 1923, American Jasper A Huffman, was elected as the first president of the society,¹⁰⁹ as the widely appreciated minister with the most theological training in the church, and Sam Goudie as the vice-president. After a year, however, they reversed roles, and Goudie became president until 1939, and Huffman, a busy college lecturer, author and editor, was vice-president for a number of years more. It would seem Huffman was brought in to reduce the impression that the UMS was still an “Ontario project.”

Everek Storms claimed that the formation of the UMS brought new strength to the foreign missionary work of the MBiC, with “steady growth and progress.”¹¹⁰ This is hard to demonstrate in the years before World War II. In terms of the church’s giving to missions, the greatest percentage increase in a quadrennium actually came in 1916 to 1920, nearly doubling. India was opened as a UMS field in 1924, and the UOMS work with Armenians was incorporated into the UMS in 1932, but overall, UMS personnel increased from an initial 17 appointees in 1921 to 26 in two years, and hovered around that figure until 1943. What makes Storms’ figures look good, from the view of 1948, was the burst of offerings and staff that nearly every evangelical mission

society experienced at the end of the War.¹¹¹

Nevertheless, there was certainly change. The Ontario Conference's proportion in the denomination's membership had been slowly slipping for a number of reasons, one being migration of members out of Ontario from the 1880s, especially to Michigan and also western Canada and the western United States.¹¹² The initial source of MBiC growth from the 1870s to the 1890s, awakened Mennonites, dried up as the Mennonite Church experienced its own internal awakening or quickening in the 1890s¹¹³ and many of the innovations embraced by the MBiC were cautiously domesticated in the Mennonite Church itself. The younger generation of members blamed the "Mennonite" name for slowing MBiC growth, especially in the western conferences. The United States received a greater share of immigration compared to Canada in the early decades of the twentieth-century. Southern Ontario, the base of the MBiC in Canada was not surrounded by populous areas for the church to expand in, as Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana in the US had, although those conferences lost members to western migration, too. Personnel of the UMS in Nigeria, almost entirely from Canada in 1921 (one American and eight Canadians at the start of the year), became even by 1948 (23 from each country). The Canadian Conferences were still disproportionately represented in Nigeria, but under-represented in the scattering of other mission fields to which the American Conferences sent missionaries.¹¹⁴

Late in Goudie's term as president of the UMS, the board decided to publish its own monthly missionary magazine, which began in September 1938 as the *Missionary Banner*. The board had been searching for a way to spread missionary information since the experiment with quarterly bulletins,¹¹⁵ and yearbooks in 1928 and 1930.¹¹⁶ The Nigerian field in 1930 began producing a newsletter called the "Nigerian Tidings."¹¹⁷ The UOMS had had its *Our [Bi-]*

Monthly Letter since 1914. The *Gospel Banner* always carried missionaries' letters as received, but rarely any articles purposely written or extended appeals, even though since 1924 Abraham Bixler Yoder, UMS vice-president, had been editor.

In fact, the missions content of the *Gospel Banner* averaged about 50 items a year, about one column or less per issue, down from nearly 100 items in years under J A Huffman. In January 1938 the board tried out a 16-page publication called *Missionary News* (one issue only) as a medium of direct appeal. They were encouraged enough ("overwhelming," remembered the first editor thirty years later¹¹⁸) to launch the *Missionary Banner* under Russell P Ditmer. There were concerns about competition with the *Gospel Banner*.¹¹⁹ As for missions news, the latter magazine continued as before, until wartime censorship and disruption cut into the number of letters from missionaries. The editors of both magazines filled up their papers with reprints from other publications. The low point for the *Gospel Banner*'s missions content came in the first year (1943) of a new editor, Ray P Pannabecker, when only 10 missions-related articles or letters appeared. It was not until Everek Storms was appointed in 1952 that missions content exceeded 90 items again, then slowly decreased to about 30 a year by 1968. The new magazine *Emphasis* begun in 1969 had lower levels of missions content. It is understandable that after the merger each article had to introduce the whole field afresh to new readers about the other side's missions, but the sense of continuity seems to have been lost. Some of these changes in frequency reflect changing tastes in magazine layout, length of articles, size and frequency of publication. (*Gospel Banner* was reduced to a bi-weekly magazine in 1963, for example). However, broad changes in missions interest in the Church and culture may still be reflected in these crude statistics.

Expanding Slowly: Stations and Out-stations 1921-1945

In this period, the mission finally got permission from the colonial authorities to open stations north of Mokwa and among people groups contacted by no other missionary society: (the names used by the mission and colonial maps is followed by the indigenous name in parentheses), Salka (Salika) (VI) among one sub-group of the Kambari cluster,¹²⁰ 1923; Zuru (Azugru) (VII) among the Lelna (Hausa name: Dakarkari), 1925;¹²¹ and Yelwa (Yauri) (X) among the Reshe (Hausa name: Gungawa) and smaller river peoples, 1937.¹²² After twenty years, the original station at Tsonga was no longer assigned foreign staff.¹²³ Emmanuel Ojo was appointed to represent the mission in 1925 and 1926, thereafter even as late as 1930 and 1931, the stationing report noted that Tsonga was “To be supplied.”¹²⁴ A resolution of the 18th Annual Field Conference asserted “that we desire to retain our rights to carry on missionary work in Shonga district, and that we endeavor [sic] to secure a worker to work in that territory, as early as possible.”¹²⁵ In 1927 the attempt to reach Nupe and Yoruba together at Tsaragi/Share¹²⁶ was abandoned and a separate Yoruba missionary station (VIII) was opened in their section of the town. A personal project of one missionary, Stella Lantz, led to a short-lived Jebba Island station (IX) (1930-1938) among the Nupe.

The Christian community at Salka grew slowly compared to Igbeti and Zuru for fifty years.¹²⁷ Some young men, including the son of a chief, were converted, but only two women until the 1950s. Kambari traditional religion and domestic life is strongly segregated so that women had not seen themselves as involved in the religious activities of men.¹²⁸ The writer saw this at work in a preaching point begun at Ungwan Baluro among another branch of the Kambari. Women would look around the walls of open air place of the teaching session where the men were and giggle, not imagining being in the same space publicly.¹²⁹ Husbands and wives did not

farm, eat or worship together, although men and women socializing on market day was a popular pastime, often as a preparation for wife-stealing.

A major turning to Christianity came about in Salka in 1974-1975 when no UMS missionary was in Salka. Nevertheless, the turn to Christianity was not without roots in the Kambari community. Conversions had been increasing. There were four Kambari pastors in 1963, and more in the early 1970s. The fifty-year exposure to Christianity had been positive (in contrast to the longer exposure to Islam).

Community disputes among two traditional worship societies so seriously disrupted community peace, that one society of men destroyed their shrine and sacred equipment, revealing secrets to the women that before would have led to serious punishments to the uninitiated (ie women and children). They announced that people were free to choose whatever worship they wanted.¹³⁰ The other society had many leaving after a violation of society rules. In addition to Salka, where a few thousand were baptized over the next few decades, surrounding villages where Christians had normally visited also saw large congregations develop. Salka Kambari are close to planting churches in every village of their people. This has not happened among the Akimba Kambari of Auna, near neighbours to those of Salka, the most Islamized subgroup of the Kambari, although there also, more churches have been planted.

As with the other missions in northern Nigeria, the MBiC MS had a generally cordial relation with the colonial government locally,¹³¹ but frustration nationally, over the British protection of people groups the Colonial officers (“Residents” and their “District Officers”) claimed were Muslim who did not want Christian missions. During 1927-1928 Sherk had to appeal directly to the Governor of Nigeria for permission so that missionaries might live at Igbeti,

which had few Muslims.¹³² In 1944, the Annual Conference resolved to continue their application to open a station at Koko, 65 kilometres north of Yelwa among Kebbawa (Hausa-speaking, but historically and politically distinct people from Sokoto Hausas). The following year the government turned down the application, claiming the residents were “fanatical Mohammedans,” and the application was dropped.¹³³ As has been shown, in some cases, the officers themselves were often the ones who promoted the policy of no entry to the emirs they were “advising.” Some officers were hostile to Christianity appearing in their areas. “Evidence is plentiful to show that after 1906 the administration of Northern Nigeria became decidedly anti-missionary.”¹³⁴ With few expatriate staff, the British government and its policy of Indirect Rule and fear of religiously based uprisings actually promoted Islam over non-Muslim people groups in the middle belt of Nigeria. They maintained slavery as an institution (though the trade had been immediately abolished in law),¹³⁵ and excluded missions from groups considered “unpacified” even as late as 1930.¹³⁶

In Nigeria, the UMS continued to follow the general pattern of colonial missions in Africa: the “mission station” approach of a collection of institutions centred where the mission staff lived: church, school, dispensary or modest hospital with perhaps a nurse or person with a few semesters of tropical medicine training.¹³⁷ (No doctor was available in the UMS until Ross Bell completed medical training in 1947.)¹³⁸ Compare this description of the SUM centre at Lupwe, Benue State, with which the first Christian Reformed Church missionary, Johanna Veenstra, was associated from 1921 to her death in 1933:

After fifty years [from 1919] it takes up fourteen acres of well-kept grounds, with many tropical fruit and shade trees, several homes, two or three offices and a large school complex with a chapel at its center. The training program at Lupwe has seen a number of

changes...At present it is a training center preparing men for theological studies. A large medical ministry was also carried on from this station until 1967.¹³⁹

Missionaries could go out on “treks” or tours of nearby villages when they were well enough in the dry season, and take along or send off “native helpers” eventually to open “out-stations.” All these were watched over by the “missionary-in-charge” who had to be spiritual guide, teacher, employer and nurse to the community that might be gathered.¹⁴⁰ Donald McGavran’s experiences in India with this structure eventually turned him against it in the latter half of the twentieth century, accepting that it had been a necessary pattern, if only for Europeans to survive long enough to accomplish anything, but positively a hindrance in post-colonial times.¹⁴¹

Flowering of the Mission: 1945-1969

The post-war period was characterized by many new missionaries, stations, approaches and institutions.

Despite the World War, or perhaps because of wartime inflation, the finances of the UMS began to rise from 1941. No new personnel were sent in 1942 or 1943, but in 1944, six were sent, then four each in 1945 and 1946, followed by eleven in 1947. Storms connects this to the deaths of veteran Joseph Ummel and first-termer Elgin Brubacher in 1943: “the sudden passing of these two warriors of the cross aroused the Church at home.”¹⁴² As mentioned, many evangelical missions and a host of newly-founded ones, mostly American, experienced an increase in activity and members in the generation after the World War. Richard Pierard points to the language of world crisis and military metaphors, the global experiences of veteran servicemen, the determination of a new generation of evangelical leaders and students (such as those in Youth For

Christ and Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship) to leave the isolation of fundamentalism and make something happen in the world as dimensions of the missionary surge.¹⁴³ This expansion of missions was true also in Nigeria.¹⁴⁴ Storms' choice of the word "warriors" fits the mood of the victorious West and the response of youth to the opportunities of the times.

With the new recruits, the UMS in Nigeria was able to branch out in new mission stations and institutions starting with a Teacher Training College in 1946,¹⁴⁵ and the memorial hospital in Tungan Magajiya¹⁴⁶ (XI) in 1947 intended to serve the whole UMS family but equally to open the local people group who followed traditional religion, known as the Dukawa (Hausa) or Hune, to the gospel.¹⁴⁷ A school of nursing was added to the hospital in 1955. The 27th ANFC encouraged the field executive to investigate the Samaneggi area and "do what they think best toward securing a mission station..."¹⁴⁸ In 1949 a second station among the river people, the Reshe, was opened at Shabanda (XII) along the west side of the Niger River not far from Samaneggi (Samanage) on the east side. Although a small village, Shabanda was felt to be free from strong Muslim influences such as the mission met at Yelwa. Research and scripture translation into Tsureshe (the language of the Reshe) reached a climax in the printing of 200 copies of the Gospel of Mark and primers for literacy.¹⁴⁹

In 1951 the field executive was searching for a site in the Borgu area of Ilorin Province (now Kwara State) and applied for land at Vera, Kaiama, but despite several more plans to begin missionary work among the Busa or Boko people of Borgu Local Government, little came of it.¹⁵⁰

Instead, three years after Shabanda, a couple with a "burden" for expansion among neglected tribes, moved to Gurai (XIII), a town a few miles from the Dahomey border west of Igbeti (and even west of Kishi) among the Bariba (language name: Batonnu),¹⁵¹ to begin a

pioneering mission, learning the language and offering the first simple western medical care.¹⁵² Despite recording the first baptism in 1963, the station was handed over to SIM that year.¹⁵³ SIM had a mission to Baribas on the Dahomey (Republic of Benin) side of the border. Churches in the area in the 1990s had very few Bariba members, so the hope that the stronger Bariba church in Benin would lead to Nigerian Bariba churches has not yet been realized.¹⁵⁴ This is a case where the national borders have made a difference of response even among those otherwise in the same people group.¹⁵⁵ Those in Nigeria are subject to a hierarchically-controlled Muslim emirate of Borgu, whereas those in Benin are less affected. CAPRO Research Office's ethnic survey, *Kingdoms at War*, reported that the Beninois Baruba are more animistic, while those in Nigeria combine Islam with traditional religion.

During the Second World War, some missions investigated the possibility of establishing a missionary children's school in Nigeria on the decidedly cooler Bauchi Plateau (now known as Jos Plateau).¹⁵⁶ The UMS missionary-builder Earl Honsberger developed a rest house there in 1952-1953. The plan included a hostel for their own growing band of "missionary kids" who were expected to be attending the Church of the Brethren Mission's Hillcrest Christian School. At the quiet site then outside of Jos (XIV) the "station" was backed by a hill crowned with huge boulders, erosion remnants forming a natural mediation chamber. There was no intention to evangelize; Jos was headquarters for many missions, all attracted by the cooler climate two to three thousand feet above the savanna plains of Northern Nigeria.

By 1952, the mission was seeing how development in Nigeria was moving populations around, and that independence was plainly coming, how soon, no one knew. In a later section, independence for the Nigeria-related church of the UMS will be examined in more detail. It

seemed good as partial preparation for the transition, to relocate the main offices of the mission from Jebba, to a larger urban centre, the only emirate city among the Yorubas, Ilorin (XV),¹⁵⁷ even though this was not at the centre of the area evangelized by the mission since 1905. The Muslim rulers of Ilorin had resisted allowing Christian missions in their city. In fact, the emirs had been encouraging the conversion of the surrounding region to Islam since the colonial government began. The Anglican suffragan bishop of Lagos, Alfred Smith, whose responsibility was for Northern Nigeria, had managed to build a residence on the outskirts of the city near the railway station by 1929, but no Anglican church resulted for many years. Nearly all the Christians in the city were from elsewhere. It was their presence that finally succeeded in establishing Baptist, Anglican, SIM and African-founded congregations in the suburbs of the city.¹⁵⁸ Another reason the mission had not moved into the city before was a comity agreement that Ilorin was in SIM's "sphere," although SIM had not been able to establish a presence there until the 1950s as well. Ilorin had a population of about 50,000 in 1950, but developed rapidly when made the capital of Kwara State in 1967.¹⁵⁹

Christians from Igbeti, Jebba, Share/ Tsaragi and areas farther north migrated to the city for government jobs or business, and they gradually established congregations.¹⁶⁰ In 1959, the higher-level UMS Theological College, started in Jebba in 1956, was relocated to Ilorin, though across the river and several kilometres from the old walled town.¹⁶¹

A second branch of the Kambari cluster on the west side of the Niger at Agara'iwa (XVI) were contacted in 1952, and buildings constructed for a residence. "In accordance with our indigenous policy, it was thought advisable to have an African make the initial contact with the African."¹⁶² Audu, a k'Lela from Ubege in Zuru district, recently trained at the Bible School in

Salka, was the first and main missionary for several years.¹⁶³ Audu's preaching in Hausa, though not well understood, was enough to combine with contacts at the hospital in Magajiya, including a Salka Kambari Christian, to bring about the conversion of Shirika, a young man Audu met at Agara'iwa. It was Shirika's indigenous witness that led to a "multi-individual movement of conversion to Christ" among his relatives over the next few years, which continues among Agwara Kambari to this day.¹⁶⁴ A common step for people of the new worship is often to make the transition of obedience by destroying the symbol of the old authority. At Agara'iwa, the first converts turned on their own "fetish house."¹⁶⁵ This is the pattern by which large indigenous communities of Christians develop, according to Church Growth observations, and as confirmed several times over in the history of the UMS and UMCA. In the 1970s, the family of Yohanna Bulus switched their loyalty to Christianity as a group, when a boy in the family became well after Agwara Christians prayed for him. This was after the traditional healer was unsuccessful in healing the son, and himself suggested they go to the Christians. A further factor was that the UMCA Kambari used their own language in singing in worship.¹⁶⁶ At least 4,400 Agwara Kambari attend UMCA churches on an average Sunday morning.¹⁶⁷

Agara'iwa was the last of traditional mission stations opened by the UMS. In the 1950s and 1960s, a different style of "station" was used in southern Nigeria, with Willis Hunking and an evangelist couple, Harold and Anna (Smith) Brown, as itinerant evangelists. The Browns encouraged Nigerian church planters in the great city of Ibadan (XVII) beginning in 1959.¹⁶⁸ No construction of a "station" was attempted, except land was needed for a church building. After Ibadan, the Browns moved to Sapele,¹⁶⁹ in the Delta region, and held meetings in Benin City. The UMS had two Theological College graduates in Sapele about 1961, and two more from Sapele

itself in training. E A Kunu was pastoring the church until civil war disruptions forced the handing over of care for the believers in the fledgling UMCA Mid-West Conference to denominations in the area.¹⁷⁰ It is doubtful that Sapele should be considered a “mission station”: the model had broken down in southern Nigeria, where by the 1960s, Christianity had an extensive but not a majority presence after more than a hundred years.¹⁷¹

Earl and Ila (Barkey) Honsberger moved into a trailer parked at Bacita (XVIII), a sugar cane plantation town not far from the original station at Tsonga, in 1963.¹⁷² They encouraged Nigerian church-planters among the migrant workers, and eventually Yoruba, Nupe, and Hausa-speaking congregations were formed. Again, no permanent compound for foreign staff was established. That era had passed.

It was the time of the Nigerian pastor or evangelist, since the UMS was not able to pioneer missions. Expansions were beginning to happen “spontaneously.” A young man of the Fakawa (Hausa name) people northwest of Zuru who was converted in Lagos welcomed a UMCA pastor and UMS missionaries to the small grass meeting place he and other young men had built in the dry season of 1960-1961 in his home town. These were the first conversions among this small tribe, even though UMS missionaries and Nigerian preachers must have preached numbers of times in the village since 1925. It is likely that the existence of churches among the larger Lelna people group, with whom the Gela-Wipsi-Fakai people group cluster have friendly relations, eased the transition for some of this new group.¹⁷³ The number of Nigerians in the employ of the UMS and then of the three districts (“Hausa”, Nupe and Yoruba) and institutions of the mission grew alongside the mission staff and began edging above the foreign staff in the 1960s (see Table 2).

Another sign of the times, welcomed by the mission, was the attempt to start UMCA churches in Tamale, Ghana, based on Yoruba members who settled there for trade.¹⁷⁴ Pastors were assigned and attempts to preach to Ghanaian citizens of the Dagomba people group begun in two villages, encouraged by the mission.¹⁷⁵ The mission leaders knew the Yoruba presence was dependent on profit, and the mission to Dagomba was not at all “indigenous” despite that description by the *Gospel Banner* editor.¹⁷⁶ All this came to an end when Ghana expelled all Nigerians in 1970, two years after the church was finally granted incorporation in Ghana.¹⁷⁷

Although the “sister mission” SIM, which the UMS often imitated, started a Nigerian missionary agency in 1949, for some reason the UMS did not found a similar institution. Possible reasons why not, or the identity of equivalent institutions trying to reproduce a missionary structure in the life of the Nigerian church, will be examined later when investigating indigenization.

Other institutions will be examined in chapter III: Liberty Press, the Bible Schools, Light of Life correspondence school, Christian Life classes and the New Life For All evangelism mobilization campaign.

Working Oneself out of a Job: 1969-1978

In 1969, the merger of the Missionary Church Association and the UMC finally came about in the United States. As part of the reorganization, Conferences became districts, and the fairly independent UMS, led by a president and a board, was replaced by a Department of Overseas Missions. For the Nigeria field there was a new policy. Nigeria remained the largest single mission field of the new Missionary Church, but recruitment from the districts in the United States for Nigeria ended. For the two Canadian districts, there was a definite change in

missionary sending patterns, as the Missionary Church Association had been an entirely American denomination with fields that needed new staff. The Canadians had been heavily involved in Nigeria, and to a lesser extent, India and Brazil, and continued to be so in Nigeria, but not by new career recruits.¹⁷⁸ The UMS it seems, had a policy to invest in a few fields at a time, while the slightly smaller Missionary Church Association, beginning its own overseas department in 1945 after years of sending people out under other missions, (including ten fields of the C&MA), took up six fields between 1945 and 1951.¹⁷⁹

Evidence that the UMS was interested in an indigenous church as a goal of its mission, and signs of how far that was achieved will be presented later. However, for now, the remaining ten years of the mission in Nigeria as the owner and director of the church's mission will be summarized. Even by 1967, the total missionary force of the UMS (world-wide) was no longer expanding.¹⁸⁰ UMS leaders in Nigeria were frequently worrying that there were not enough staff to fill all the existing stations, and at times several stations were being left without staff.¹⁸¹ Institutions needed many missionaries: doctors, nurses, teachers in the schools and college, the children's hostel.¹⁸² After 1963 no new mission stations were begun, and the Nigerian church did not attempt any cross-cultural missions (except in Ghana) until the mid-1980s.¹⁸³ The Biafran or Nigerian civil war of 1967-1970 which devastated the south east of Nigeria ended the church's attempts to spread south and east, but did not stop other UMS programmes.¹⁸⁴

The missionary children's hostel and school in Jos prolonged the career of North American missionaries in Nigeria, but could not keep children forever. With their children reaching the end of high school, many families who went to Nigeria in the 1950s, were now facing the problem of how to help their children to enter the job markets or colleges of North America.

Some tried to keep going, but anxieties about the stability and re-entry of their “third culture kids” into North American life prompted many to resign from the mission to be near their children.¹⁸⁵ Whereas an earlier generation, with no option¹⁸⁶ but to leave their children in the homes of friends or relatives in Canada or the United States (and thus giving their children a chance to gain confidence in dealing with western culture), the post-war generation who kept their children nearer, left them a different problem of re-adjustment—culture shock, in fact. This concern led members of the UMS in Nigeria to look for the end of their roles in Nigeria. Since new missionaries were not being appointed, the old hope of the “native church” doing the work of the mission grew stronger.

Many missions approved the saying in missionary circles that the mission is just a scaffolding for the construction of the Church, which needs to be taken down when the Church is functioning. This was another way of expressing the three-self ideal. On an individual level, missionaries in the 1960s and 1970s were saying they wanted to “work themselves out of their jobs.”¹⁸⁷ Scholars have noted the characteristic Protestant or faith mission pattern of handing over to the members of the church in a country has been by “upward retreat”: by slowly raising the level of training given to local Christians (often through programs of study lasting a few years at a time), and appointing them to gradually higher levels in the organization while expatriate missionary leadership moves up or creates higher levels still.¹⁸⁸ The foreign missionaries, at least in evangelical missions, “retreat” up the ladder, but either keep ultimate control until a restless church eases the foreigners out,¹⁸⁹ or, the mission hands over control, maybe without being asked: “We realized that if we waited until we felt like the nationals were ready, they would assume control whether we gave it to them or not.”¹⁹⁰

1. "General Conference Proceedings," *GB*, 1 November 1888, 9.
2. Huffman, *HMBiC*, 187.
3. *Ibid.*, 265.
4. Storms, *WGHW*, 24-26.
5. *GB*, 1 November 1889, 13, from Markham, which seems to have been her home area; *GB*, 21 March 1893, 11; 25 July 1893, 1; 7 November 1893, 9.
6. *Conference Journal of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Canada Conference*] 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1906, (1669 visits!); 1907, 40, 59 (where Pool reports 1477 visits as a "slum worker").
7. *Conference Journal of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Canada Conference* 1907, 47. The "tongues question" was just beginning to appear in Canadian holiness circles from the fall of 1906. While March 1907 is a year earlier than the open controversy in the Ontario Conference, people in MBiC missions in Toronto were quite aware of the movement, being physically close to the pentecostal missions, and relating to their activities. George A Chambers, *Fifty Years in the Service of the King 1907-1957* (Toronto: Testimony Press, 1960), 10-11. (Chambers was pastor of the mission on Parliament Street, and Pool a worker).
8. Storms, *WGHW*, 113-114; A B Simpson, "Rev. A. B. Simpson in Chile," *GB*, 23 June 1910, 2-3 [reprinted from *Alliance Weekly*].
9. "Report of the Foreign Mission Board," *Proceedings of the Canada Conference of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ* (1902), 87.
10. Storms, *WGHW*, 83-85. Marianna Gerber had support in going to Turkey from a family from the state of Nebraska. It is not clear when she was counted a member, although Storms lists her among MBiC member missionaries.
11. Some details of Rose Lambert Musselman's life have been collected in Sharon L Klingelsmith, "Mennonite Women in Mission: Rose Lambert, Pioneer," *Mennonite Historical Bulletin* 39:4 (October 1978), 1-3; and Elaine Summers Rich, *Mennonite Women: A Story of God's Faithfulness, 1683-1983* (Scottsdale, PA and Kitchener, ON: Herald Press, 1983), 136-137. Rich's account suffers from vagueness about the MBiC context. J F Funk's *Gospel Herald* carried some letters by Lambert in 1909, two years before she resigned from the mission due to illness.
12. Rich, 136. Lambert (1897) and David Goerz (1899) distributed relief money from North American Mennonites, Schlabach, *Peace, Faith, Nation*, 306-308; Pannabecker, *Open Doors*, 309.

13. George Lambert, *India: The Horror-Stricken Empire: Containing a Full Account of the Famine, Plague, and Earthquake of 1896-97; Including a Complete Narrative of the Relief Work through the Home and Foreign Commission* (Elkhart, IN: Mennonite Publishing, 1898). Shenk, 70, calls Lambert a layman. Perhaps he had no ordination with the Mennonite Church, but he entered the MBiC ministry in 1878, and was ordained in 1881. In Huffman, *HMBiC*, 251, he seems to be counted as a member of the denomination. Harold S Bender, "Lambert, George," *ME*, 4:1101 (Supplementary). Daniel Brenneman's Bethel Church was served by George Lambert in 1887, 1893, 1894 and 1896; *One Hundred Years with God 1875-1975* [cover: *Bethel Missionary Church 1875-1975*] [Elkhart, IN: Bethel Missionary Church, 1975], 16.

14. Known in Storms' books as Marie Anna. Max Haines, "J. A. Sprunger," *Reflections*, 6:1 & 2 (Spring and Fall 2002)12, says Marianna Gerber came from deaconess work in Switzerland to head up Sprunger's deaconess training institution. Storms, *WGHW*, 84, says by 1898 she "had been engaged in home missionary work for twenty years." She became an effective travelling publicist for the mission, and wrote a book, *Marianna Gerber, Past Experiences, Present Conditions, Hope for the Future* (Pasadena, CA: Ramsey-Burns Printing, 1917).

15. Schlabach, *Peace, Faith, Nation*, 306; Walter H Lugibihl and Jared F Gerig, *The Missionary Church Association: Historical Account of Its Origin and Development* (Berne, IN: Economy Printing Concern, 1950), 20-21.

16. Garabed Hagopian, later president of the evangelical Konia College in Turkey.

17. Dr Elizabeth Hawley, originally not an MBiC member, first (1904) worked under another mission before her marriage to Henry Maurer in 1906, Storms, *WGHW*, 87, 137-142. The name eventually chosen was the United Orphanage and Mission Society (UOMS). The Turkish government objected to the first proposed name which included the word "Armenian," Kauffman, 261. Abraham B Yoder of the Indiana and Ohio Conference served on the board from 1901 to 1938, when it was merged with the UMS. He also served on the UMS board from its start to 1939. Storms, *HUMC*, 101.

18. Shelly, 202, 205. The money collected was quite an amount: Eg, \$6365 up to Apr 1st 1900. In 1905, of the 305 children in the orphanages, 102 were supported from Russia, 95 from Germany, and about 15 by the MBiC Pennsylvania Conference. In 1911, 306 were supported: 139 from the United States, 52 from Canada, 36 (Russia), 32 (England), 23 (Germany), and "24 by Christians in six other countries," Storms, *WGHW*, 89.

19. Chiefly 1909 and 1920. There is a wealth of information about the Mission which has never received proper attention in the Missionary Church, and is a nearly forgotten episode. Shenk, 70, is wrong to report the mission ended in 1914.

20. Storms, *WGHW*, 93-94, contra Brenneman, "Indigenization," 2, who said he could find no reference to indigenization in *What God Hath Wrought*.

21. *Journal of the Proceedings of the United Missionary Society* (1940), 12, “Resolved, that the United Missionary Society will not obligate itself financially for the work in Syria except for such funds as it might appropriate from time to time, if any.” The United Missionary Society (UMS) had \$1000 relief money on hand, and sent it, plus a \$400 parting gift for the Spiritual Brotherhood school in Beirut. Hereafter these *Journals* will be referred to as the *UMS Journal*.

22. War and mission-church conflicts seem to be behind the failed relationship. One missionary who spent a short time in Syria in the 1930s did not form a high opinion of the motives of the Armenian leaders. Ebenezer Bible College in Beirut received North American staff from cooperating missions in the 1950s, but the school ceased to function after a few years. The mission had conflict with the Church of the Nazarene-trained Armenian evangelist, Samuel Doctorian, who had initially supported the school. (Thirty years later, Rev Doctorian was a Church of the Nazarene evangelist living in California.) A second attempt early in the 1960s involving the UMS foreign secretary Richard Reilly personally did not even start, as a serious split developed in the large Beirut Brotherhood congregation. The condition of “self-propagating” may be no longer true, *GB*, 22 August, 1957; “U. M. S. Entering Open Door: Reilly to Open Bible School in Beirut, Lebanon,” *MB*, June 1963, 3; *GB*, 23 April 1964. In 1968, Reilly reported the divisions had been healed and he had been able to preach in the “reunited church in Beirut,” “Report of the Foreign Secretary,” *Proceedings of the Twenty-First General Conference United Missionary Church...1968*, 35.

23. *MB*, February 1958, 9.

24. *GB*, 10 October 1899, 3; 28 November 1899, 6; 5 December 1899, 7; 30 January 1900, 7; 8 May 1900, 5. The articles stopped because Bingham himself went to Lagos for the second time and promptly got sick from malaria again, effectively aborting the effort. Bingham did not give up, and two more articles—the last from him—appeared mid-1901: “Plea for the central Soudan,” 27 July 1901, 6; and 3 August 1901, 6. The story is well told in Sudan Interior Mission accounts eg Rowland V Bingham, *Seven Sevens of Years and a Jubilee! The Story of the Sudan Interior Mission* (Toronto: Evangelical Publishers, 1943), 13-30; and John H Hunter, *A Flame of Fire: The Life and Work of R V Bingham, D. D.* ([Toronto]: The Sudan Interior Mission, 1961), 51-83. Yusufu Turaki, *Theory and Practice of Christian Missions in Africa: A Century of SIM/ ECWA History and Legacy in Nigeria, 1893-1993*. Nairobi, Kenya: International Bible Society Africa, 1999, has a full and perceptive account by a professional historian.

25. [R V Bingham], *Pioneering in the Soudan...Report of Twelve Months' Work in Nigeria by the Africa Industrial Mission* (Toronto: Henderson and Company, 1903), inside cover.

26. *Conference Journal of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ* 1902, 114, in the report of the Michigan Conference's Foreign Mission Committee, it was recommended “Whereas, For some reasons it is thought advisable for Bro. Anthony to return in two years, we therefore recommend that this Conference authorize the representative to the Africa Industrial Council to request them to consider his return within two years.” The Conference was involved in providing for his wife and children while Anthony was gone.

27. *General Conference Journal...1900*, 10, 12, 21, 25. The 1900 General Conference was a busy one. Beside Bingham, described as a “returned missionary of Africa,” William Egle and J A Sprunger (who addressed the Conference) of the Light and Hope Missionary Society, and S D Burkey of the “Egly church” (Defenseless Mennonites) were also received as advisory members, each present for their own purposes—Ada Moyer had just gone to Armenia with Light and Hope, and T F Barker about to go, both from Ontario; the Defenseless Mennonites had lost Ramseyer and others which led to the forming of the Missionary Church Association (Sprunger had been part of that). The Conference appointed a delegation of three (Menno Bowman, H S Hallman, Daniel Brenneman) to the next Missionary Church Association Conference.

28. “Iowa & Nebraska”, and Canada, *General Conference Journal...1904*, 13.

29. *GB*, 1 November 1885, 10; *GB*, 15 October 1892, 12.

30. *GB*, 27 October 1896, 15.

31. Atlantic Presbyterians, 1866–Saskatchewan, 1867--Trinidad; central Canadian Presbyterians, 1870–Formosa; Canadian Methodists: Japan–1873; Canadian Baptists, 1874–India; Congregationalists, 1886–Angola; Wycliffe College Missionary Association, 1888–Japan.

32. Alwyn J Austin, *Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom 1888-1959* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 5. Austin, like some other Canadian historians of religion in this generation, seemed unable to write about evangelical Christianity of the nineteenth century without irony, but at least he recognized its existence.

33. Mentioned by most of the writers in the *Gospel Banner* in 1918-1919 in favour of a General Board. The 1900 General Conference had discouraged supporting “native workers, outside of those working under our own missionaries.” (*General Conference Journal...1900*, 20.) The parallel to missionaries not working under the denomination could have occurred to some denominational leaders.

34. Wittlinger, 178-179, 188. For the BiC from 1894 the four missions were: World’s Gospel Union founded 1892 (became Gospel Missionary Union in 1901), Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association (founded 1890s), Central American Mission (1890), and the C&MA, (1887). Hephzibah was often spelled “Hepzibah.”

35. Not to be confused with the Africa Inland Mission—AIM—of East Africa (founded 1895).

36. The British perhaps admiring a hierarchical imperialistic society like their own. Cf E A Ayandele, “The Missionary Factor in Northern Nigeria 1870-1918,” in O U Kalu, ed, *The History of Christianity in West Africa* (London: Longman Group, 1980), 134. The notion of “tribe” is tested by “the Hausa,” as they are a conglomeration of earlier peoples and status groups who adopted the Hausa language and culture by conquest, cultural or economic pressure, and “becoming Hausa” is now bound up with the islamization of northern people groups. “Hausaization” is still going on in numerous smaller groups in Nigeria. On difficulties with the

concept of “tribe,” see Donald R Wright, “What do you mean, There were no Tribes in Africa?": Thoughts on Boundaries—and Related Matters—in Pre-colonial Africa,” *History in Africa* 26 (1999) 409-426.

37. Eg Charles Henry Robinson, *Hausa-Land: Fifteen Hundred Miles Through the Central Sudan* (London: Sampson, Lowe, Marston & Co, 1896). This British Anglican was not related to SIM’s Baptist C H Robinson.

38. Ajayi, 138-139. “Soudan Interior Mission” was the name the three unsponsored men including Bingham chose in England on their way to West Africa. There was no organization as such which “sent” them.

39. *Conference Journal of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ 1899*, 45. *Might’s Toronto Street Directory* for 1899 listed 339 Carlton as the home of the “Mennonite Gospel Mission.” 1901-2 gave 435 Parliament, 1903 as 334-336 Parliament, and 1904-1907, it was at 281 Parliament and finally 1909-1912 at 266 Parliament. The *Directory* for 1900 did not list the mission anywhere; perhaps it was between locations.

40. A W Banfield, “Candidate’s Form” [for the Africa Industrial Mission] dated May 8th, 1901, in the Archives of SIM International, Charlotte, North Carolina, stated that he was converted Oct 18th 1900, “I was connected with the Fred Victor Mission in active work for six years, and on the date mentioned separated myself from the world for the Lord’s work.” The writer is grateful to Constanze Weise, PhD student at the University of Beyreuth, Germany, researching missionary attitudes to Nupe religion, for this reference.

41. A W Banfield, “A Short History of the Life and Work of A. W. Banfield,” 2, unpublished typescript from about 1934, existing in a few versions [MCIA]. This account is the basis for summaries of A W Banfield’s career in Storms, *What God Hath Wrought*, 29-35, and John H Hunter, “Light Bearer in Darkest Africa,” *Evangelical Christian* February 1950: 77-78, 107.

42. A W Banfield, “Queen’s Own Rifle Band,” Personnel files, Storms Collection, [MCIA]. Mennonites spoke of the doctrine of “non-conformity” or “separation” from the world as well, but Banfield uses holiness-type language.

43. George D Watson was a holiness evangelist of the Methodist Episcopal Church from Cincinnati, Ohio, and author of many popular holiness books.

44. Althea A Banfield, untitled typescript in answer to questions from “Grace” [Cressman?], [ca 1944], Personnel files, Storms Collection, [MCIA].

45. Banfield, “A Short History,” 3.

46. Althea A (Priest) Banfield, untitled typescript [MCIA]. R V Bingham kept a booklet called variously, *The Burden of the Soudan* or *A Plea for the Central Soudan* in print for several years.

47. Bingham's otherwise valuable *Seven Sevens*, 31, written in 1943 contains a few mistaken memories of the preparations for this third approach to northern Nigeria, for example suggesting that Anthony and Banfield went to Nyasaland to observe industrial missions, while the other two went to Tripoli. Certainly neither Anthony nor Banfield went to the Zambezi.

48. She served in Aylmer and St Thomas, Ontario.

49. A full account is in Fuller, *Banfield, Nupe and the UMCA*, 19-24, 30-35. Alexander W Banfield himself provided well-observed anecdotes in his book, *Life Among the Nupe Tribe of West Africa* (Berlin, ON: H S Hallman, 1905) illustrated by 137 of his own photographs.

50. Cf a popular enthusiastic contemporary description in Wilson S Naylor, *Daybreak in the Dark Continent* (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement, 1905), 154-161. Naylor reported, for example, that over 99% of students in one industrial mission program became and remained Christians.

51. Banfield, *Life Among the Nupe*, 54-56; Bingham, *Pioneering*, 6, "We are hoping to introduce ere long a spinning and weaving plant, and thus we may get more natives in our employ, and so under the influence of the gospel."

52. Bingham, *Seven Sevens*, 33.

53. Banfield, "A Short History," 1.

54. Cf George M Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism: 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 80-93. Mennonite and BiC Missions in India and Africa felt similar pressures: Schlabach, *Gospel Versus Gospel*, chapter 4, 109-147 is all about this issue; Wittlinger, 457, "Direct evangelism was always a major concern of the overseas missions, but the need of Africans for education and medical services made heavy demands upon the mission program." By 1948, the board of the UMS was rejecting agricultural and industrial mission work so praised by many a generation earlier. When in the 1964 the UMS bought the assets of the "India Industrial Mission," they were uneasy with its training program as such, justifying it for evangelistic usefulness, but recognizing the help training in a trade could "prepare self-supporting pastors," "New Opportunity in Calcutta," *MB*, November 1964, 4.

55. Turaki, 304-309.

56. *Proceedings of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, Canada Conference 1905*, 89.

57. SIM's "Miss Young" stayed at Shonga for six months before her marriage to F X Stanley, May 1914, (Ira W Sherk to C N Good, 19 May 1914 from Jebba) [MCIA]. F E Hein and his wife, independents but later with SIM, served at Mokwa 1917 to March 1919; (Huffman, *HMBiC*, 190; Sidney S Shantz to C N Good, 4 July 1918 from Jebba; Ira W Sherk to C N Good, 11 January 1918 [sic, 1919]) [MCIA].

58. Fred E Lang, and Florence Overholt, at Christmas 1911. They lived at the SIM station at Kpada among the Nupes.

59. Cornelia W Pannabecker, Diaries, 20 December 1911; and her letter to C N Good, 15 August 1915, from Shonga. [MCIA]

60. Letter "To the Conference of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ (Canada Conference)," Shonga, 27 December 1906, *Conference Journal of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ 1907*, 44, "This time a year ago we were busy working on our Mission home, Sister Banfield and myself trying hard against severe attacks of fever, the strangeness of the people and the great task, to establish a Mission Station in this wild country."

61. Later copies of *Life Among the Nupe* included pages 81-84, an account with new photographs, of the Shonga mission in 1907. In it he explains why they had so many children.

62. By the time of their 1908 furlough, Banfield had completed a fresh translation of the four gospels which the British and Foreign Bible Society printed in London. They were not the first Nupe gospels to be published, nor did he work alone. Eugene A Nida, ed, *The Book of a Thousand Languages*, rev ed, (London: United Bible Societies, 1972), 334, lists all known Bible portions translated into Nupe, from an 1877 Gospel of John by Samuel Ajayi Crowther to the complete Bible published in 1953. An inter-mission Nupe Language Conference, formed at Patigi in 1906, asked Banfield to produce drafts of the gospels for the members to contribute to and pass for the Bible Society, A W Banfield, "A Translator's Vicissitudes," *The Bible in the World*, (1929), 142. Linguistic and Bible translation work by the mission will be noted later, pages 152-157.

63. J Lowry Maxwell, *Half a Century of Grace: A Jubilee History of the Sudan United Mission* (London: SUM, [1954]), 87.

64. Mission Stations of the MBiC MS and UMS will be numbered by Roman numerals.

65. Ira W Sherk, "A Bird's Eye View of Missionary Enterprise in Nigeria," *GB*, 3 June 1920, 4, praised the Lokoja Inter-Mission Conferences as "of tremendous importance to unify effort and prevent overlapping by the various societies."

66. On the Baptists in Jebba, Ezekiel A Bamigboye, *The History of Baptist Work in Northern Nigeria 1901-1975* (Ibadan: Powerhouse Press, 2000), 64; on Anglicans: C W Pannabecker, "Diaries," 13 August 1912: "Rev. Mr. Kuti came & had a meeting for the benefit of C.M.S. members of the Yoruba people. 28 present."

67. These rapids are the place where British explorer Mungo Park perished (1806), and the British government steam ship *Dayspring* sank with no loss of life in 1857. Aboard that ship were CMS personnel including the future Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther, the Ibo (via Sierra Leone) Rev J C (John Christopher) Taylor and linguist Dr W B Baikie; Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work* 3 Vol. (London: Church Missionary

Society, 1899), 2:451. The rapids and old Bussa are all under a hydroelectric dam lake now.

68. Bida, 1903-burned and closed 1906; Wushishi to the Hausa, 1904; Egbe with the Yagba Yoruba, 1908; Paiko among the Gbari, 1909; Kpada among the Nupe; Kwoi among the Jaba (Hyam) 1910; Kuru for a multi-ethnic area, for example (Turaki, 177-181).

69. Nupe: "Noo-pay" with a rising tone on the second syllable. Their population is a politically contested point, anything from a half to three million people being promoted.

70. Barbara F Grimes, ed, *Ethnologue*, 13th ed, (Dallas, TX: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1996), 360. Ira Sherk followed S F Nadel (see n72) in believing some neighbouring groups were actually in the process of being assimilated to the central Nupe body (Ira W Sherk to Rev Dr A H Wilkinson, 10 September 1946, from Kitchener, Ontario). [MCIA].

71. Quoted in M M Familusi, *Methodism in Nigeria (1842-1992)* (Ibadan: NPS Educational Publications, 1992), 26.

72. S F Nadel, *Black Byzantium: The Kingdom of Nupe in Nigeria* (London: Oxford University Press, 1942) and his *Nupe Religion* being early standards. Aliyu Alhaji Idrees, in books such as *Political Change and Continuity in Nupeland* (Ibadan: Caltop Publications, 1998) continues a tradition of detailed studies, and provides excellent bibliography.

73. Banfield after 1910 concentrated even more on translation and the union printing press, leaving bicycle exploration more and more to Sherk; *MB*, May 1940, 10.

74. A W Banfield, Letter of 1 February 1907, *Christian Worker*, April 1907, reprinted in *MB*, April 1943, 5-6. *Christian Worker* was published by A W Roffe, a former Salvationist, Christian Workers Church pastor and an SIM council member (and later a C&MA district superintendent) based in Toronto.

75. Storms, *WGHW*, 53.

76. Cornelia W Pannabecker, "Diaries," 18 January, 17 May, and 5 July 1911. The last CMS missionary at Mokwa had been Rev J D Aitken, who was in Nigeria from at least 1899 to resignation 1923; Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work*, Supplement Vol (London: Church Missionary Society, 1914), 4: 64-65; Gordon Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society 1910-1942* Vol 1 *In Tropical Africa, The Middle East, At Home* (London: SCM Press, 1971), 102.

77. Briefly mentioned, though Mokwa is not named, in S J Hogben, *The Muhammadan Emirates of Northern Nigeria* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), 128. This work has an apologetic tendency to uphold colonial policies which imposed Muslim rulers and legitimized conquests claimed during the jihad of Dan Fodio and slave raids mixed with conquest after.

78. Wusa's rescue from slavery is told in Banfield, *Life Among the Nupe*, 66.

79. Ira W Sherk to C N Good, 20 January 1915 [MCIA] in a financial statement: "To Mamudu at Mokwa to close account L 2.4.0." which may mean that Mamudu was leaving the employ of the mission. He is not mentioned in further financial correspondence from the field. Wusa is mentioned by A W Banfield as living with "us" for 20 years and that "we" saved her from slavery in his anniversary photo album, "A Short Illustrated History of the Tribes, Fields and Work of the United Missionary Society," presented to Ira Sherk in 1932 on his 25th year of service in Nigeria. [MCIA] Perhaps when Banfield joined the Bible Society, he and Althea obtained the collaboration of their friends Mamudu and Wusa until the early 1920s.

80. Bingham, *Pioneering*, 9. Stirrett changed that: Bingham, *Seven Sevens*, 40: "...the Doctor announced that with a force of two missionaries on the field, he felt it was time to open a new station"! Thus Tommie Titcombe went alone to the Yagba Yorubas after no more than three weeks in Nigeria in 1908.

81. Ira W Sherk, to C N Good, 18 April 1919, from Shonga, Northern Nigeria. [MCIA]

82. TCNN [*Theological College of Northern Nigeria*] *Theological Bulletin*, 1984 (4). [Author and title lost in the UMCA Theological College library copy]. CAPRO Research Office, *Kingdoms in Conflict: An Ethnic [sic] Survey of Niger, Kebbi States and FCT* (Jos, Nigeria: CAPRO Media, 1995), 55-56.

83. *United Missionary Society Year Book 1928*, 51.

84. See page 92, n 133.

85. Igbebi is the nearest large town to the former capital of the Old Oyo Yoruba Kingdom which was destroyed by the Hausa-Fulani emirate established in Ilorin about 1837. The community survived being incorporated into Ilorin by retreating to the easily defensible hill top. On clear days (not too common in Nigeria!) one can see the smaller inselberg of Sobi Hill at Ilorin, 50 kilometres away, and the modern central mosque minarets.

86. William Finlay, to S Goudie and C N Good, 28 May 1920, from Jebba, Nigeria. [MCIA]

87. Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 731. J D Y Peel, *Ijeshas and Nigerians: The Incorporation of a Yoruba Kingdom 1890s-1970s* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 166. The Ijeshas are centred around their main city of Ilesha, 95 kilometres south of Ilorin.

88. Funmilayo Elizabeth Oloyede, "A History of United Missionary Church of Africa in Igbebi 1919-1980," BA Project, University of Ilorin, 1990, 42-43. Cultural distance is a concept used in the Church Growth movement. Only deliberate missionary action crosses cultural barriers in many situations. The Ijeshas did not even consider themselves "Yoruba"—originally a term for Oyo people—until the 1920s, Peel, 162.

89. Eg, Sophie de la Haye, *Tread upon the Lion: The Story of Tommie Titcombe* (Agincourt, ON: Sudan Interior Mission, [1973]), 5-8.

90. "Revd. Gabriel A. A. Ogunbode (J.P.)" in Lois Fuller, ed, *Faith of Our Fathers: Life Stories of Some UMCA Elders* (Ilorin, Nigeria: World Partners, 1999), 70. Ogunbode's father, Samuel Ogunbode who went to Lagos "about 1900", came back a Christian convert in 1918, and met Ijesha Christians preaching.

91. Lageer, "Igbetti," *The Heathen for Thine Inheritance*, [not paginated].

92. Bello (spelled "Belo" in UMS accounts) spent at least 8 years in Igbeti as pastor before a UMS missionary was available. Two others are "Immanuel" (Emmanuel Ojo) named 3rd ANFC, April 1924; and Samuel Makinde named in 4th ANFC, late 1924, and 5th ANFC, January 1926. Oloyede, 46, says Ojo and Gabriel Adeniran were the first assigned to Igbeti in 1921, with Bello arriving in 1922. Bello was still a leader in Igbeti when Rev D O Taylor was appointed pastor in 1944.

93. *United Missionary Society Year Book 1928*, 52.

94. Storms, *WGHW*, 58-60.

95. S Goudie, "A General Conference Foreign Mission Board," *GB*, 29 August 1918, 3. Goudie said he was "fully persuaded" 15 years before that a general board was proper, but what they got was only called a general board.

96. Financial correspondence went to Elder J N Pannabecker (Ontario-born, from Hespeler) of Elkton, Michigan, for a short period in 1913.

97. Samuel Goudie, "Origin of the UMS," 6-7, a historical sketch for the *United Missionary Society Yearbook* for 1928, 2-3, (only 1928 and 1930 editions were ever produced) clearly expressed his disappointment with the 1905 mission organization, though he himself served on it most of the time. Goudie expressed surprise to C N Good on a related matter: "Well say O. B. Snyder is not very favourable to having a representative on our Gen. Board from the Alberta Conf. & yet he says he will favor a Gen. Board at Gen. Conf. Why not now? You voted in favor & so did S Cressman & I certainly favor it & yet I hate to take him on while O. B. is opposed." (S Goudie to C N Good, 14 March 1919, from Stouffville, Ontario). [MCIA]

98. Notice the recognition the mission was of "Canada." Storms, *HUMC*, 282. The number in the Foreign Missions Conference volume appears to be the Ontario Conference receipts only. \$11,442 is Storms' number (*HUMC*, 282) minus the Pennsylvania receipts.

99. James L Barton, ed, *Foreign Missions Conference of North America: Being the Report of the Twenty-Fifth Conference of Foreign Mission Boards in the United States and Canada* (Garden City, NY: Foreign Missions Conference, 1918), 477, 479 and 486.

100. *Mennonite Brethren in Christ Ninth General Conference 1916*, 30.

101. Editorial, "Why Not a General Conference Missionary Board?" *GB*, 7 February 1918, 2; Clifford Isaiah Scott, 21 March 1918, 4; Jacob Hygema, 18 April 1918, 3; Samuel Goudie, 29 August 1918, 3; Laura Steckley, 30 October 1919, 4-5; Samuel H Martin, 2 January 1919, 8; Daniel C and Blanch Eby, 16 January 1919, 5-6; Silas Cressman, 1 January 1920, 2, Daniel C and Blanche Eby, 27 May 1920, 3; *A Foreign Missionary [in Africa]*, 23 September 1920, 4. Steckley was from the Pacific Conference, Martin from Alberta. Both had served in India, with the Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association and the C&MA respectively. The Ebys, from Alberta, worked in the UOMS. Cressman and Goudie were from Ontario. Hygema was from Nebraska. The eastern United States conferences were not represented except by Huffman, who was from Indiana and Ohio.

102. 10 October 1918, 2. He added approving comments to several of the articles.

103. Epp, 368: "From the most conservative Amish to the most accommodating Mennonite Brethren in Christ, the teaching on nonresistance remained relatively strong."

104. Schultz was related to many people in the MBiC— he was a cousin of Emma Hostetler, for example— but he had a settled and cheerful disregard for denominational boundaries. From time to time he served as a Baptist pastor. He published two collections of memoirs, including many incidents of his life in Nigeria, though often leaving out names of people and places: Allan J Schultz, *From Disgrace to Great, Great Grace* ([Kitchener, ON]: self-published, 1975) and Idem, *Memoirs and Reflections by Missionary A. J. Schultz 1891-1977* ([Cambridge, ON]: self-published, 1977).

105. Although listed as a member sent out by the Ontario Conference, Harold had some special status: Ira Sherk welcomed the news that he was coming, yet "he will be separate tho [sic] we will think of him as one of us." (To C N Good, 6 August 1915,) [MCIA]. He went originally to assist A W Banfield (from 1915 with the British and Foreign Bible Society) with the Niger Press in Tsonga. After leaving Nigeria in 1919, Harold Pannabecker joined the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, and started a church in Toronto called Glad Tidings Tabernacle (letter from Earl R Pannabecker to the author, 10 February 1986 from North Bay, Ontario).

106. *Mennonite Brethren in Christ Tenth General Conference 1920*, 36. By 1920, Pennsylvania's total income in the four-year period was two and a half times Ontario, the next largest. Ontario's foreign missions giving was slightly higher than Pennsylvania's, until Sunday School giving is included, with which Pennsylvania out-gave Ontario more than 3 to 2. For the largest Conference, in finances and membership (2099 to Ontario's 1978 members) and increasingly urban (cf editorial, *Year Book 1952*, 6), not to contribute, was a serious draw back to denominational missions advocates.

107. *Ibid.*, 27.

108. *United Missionary Church Yearbook 1949*, 19.

109. Huffman was also concerned to try to get some cooperation or even church union involving “progressive” Mennonite groups. In conjunction with the preliminary UMS meeting, representatives of the Defenseless Mennonite Church, The Missionary Church Association, and the Central Conference of Mennonites (later part of the General Conference Mennonite Church), met with MBiC representatives January 6th 1921 in Elkhart, “whereas a constitution and bylaws have been drafted for the united efforts in Foreign Mission work.” A subsequent meeting in October, timed to fit with the UMS inaugural meeting, to which interested churches were to send five delegates each, did not materialize (“Minutes of a Meeting to Consider the Matter of Union,” copied February 1921, J A Huffman, Chairman.) [MCIA] The writer thanks Dr Timothy Erdel for bringing these minutes to his attention.

110. Storms, *WGHW*, 154.

111. Cf Ralph Winter, “Twenty-five Incredible Years, 1945-1970,” in Kenneth Scott Latourette, *History of the Expansion of Christianity Vol 7: Advance Through Storm* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1971 [1945]), 507-533.

112. Roderic P Beaujot and Kevin McQuillan, *Growth and Dualism: The Demographic Development of Canadian Society* (Toronto: Gage Publishing, 1982), 83, “Emigration, almost entirely to the United States, soared during the 1880s, dropped sharply in the 1890s and rose again in the first ten years of the new century.” When the Michigan Conference was formed under the guidance of the Canada Conference in 1896, 522 members were transferred from the Canada Conference’s rolls, although not all were migrants from Ontario. Many members would have been “lost” to similar denominations and some few to “none” at all.

113. Schlabach, *Peace, Faith, Nation*, 295-321.

114. In 1948, they were India (eight), Colombia (two), Venezuela (one), Egypt (one), China (one), Belgian Congo (one), all Americans, not reckoning the missionaries supported by Pennsylvania who were not MBiC members.

115. Approved at the UMS General Board (“3rd Annual Meeting”), May 1924, and to be named the “United Missionary Call”. [Storms Collection, MCIA]

116. R P Ditmer, “Banner Beginnings,” *MB*, September 1968, 2.

117. Proposed in the 9th Annual Nigerian Field Conference (ANFC) minutes, 28 January, 1930 [Storms Collection, MCIA]. Although the reason is not stated in the 18th ANFC, 28 January 1939, the reason for the discontinuation of “Nigerian Tidings” with a Farewell issue, is obviously the appearance of the *Missionary Banner*. Normally “Nigerian Tidings” was also published in the *Gospel Banner*.

118. R[ussell] P Ditmer, “Banner Beginnings,” *MB*, September 1968, 2.

119.[Richard S Reilly], "A Forward Move: 25 Years with the *Missionary Banner* 1938-1963," *MB*, September 1963, 2-3. Reilly defended the production of two magazines, connecting the increase in UMS missionary staff and income beginning 1941-42 with the start of the magazine in the fall of 1938. When missionary salaries were increased by a third in 1944, the missionaries in Nigeria also believed the *Missionary Banner* had been a "potent factor", (24th ANFC, November 1944, Jebba). World events may have had as much or greater effect.

120."Kambari" is used by the current translation and literacy group, the Kambari Language Project, Salka, but Kamberri, Kambari and other forms have been commonly used in UMS literature. There are about eight sub-groups in the cluster. The UMCA has churches in three. The mission believed there were about 80,000 Kambari people in the 1920s-1930s, Storms, *WGHW*, 67. A recent estimate supposes they number 150,000 people, CAPRO Research Office, 270. Grimes, 340, 366 puts the three groups evangelized by the UMCA at 210,000 total (1996 estimates).

121.Lelna is the autonym of the people group; one person is called a "k'Lela," while the language is known as "C'Lela," pronounced "Ch'Leylah." Following Hausa orthography, "c" is used for "ch" in many northern Nigerian spelling systems, eg "Dukanci," the language of the Dukawas, is pronounced "Dukanchi." The Lelna were believed to have 45,000 people, *ibid*, 69. In recent estimates, they have been credited with 95,000 people, CAPRO Research Office, 271.

122.The UMS believed the Gungawa numbered 10,000 in the 1940s, Storms, *WGHW*, 74. They may be 46,000 strong now, CAPRO Research Office, 271. The British colonial service accepted the Hausa names for thousands of towns and scores of tribal groups in Northern Nigeria, and the missions generally followed this. Resentment over Hausa-Fulani power and local pride is resurrecting local names and autonyms all over Nigeria. No converts were recorded from the Lopa, a people who shared the Niger River islands with the Reshe. They may have amounted to less than 5000 in the 1940s, and 15,000 recently, CAPRO Research Office, 271.

123.The wood of the bungalow had dry rot and permission was given to tear it down and to salvage any materials still useable, UMS General Board, May 1924. [Storms Collection, MCIA]

124.5th ANFC, January 1926; 6th ANFC, Feb 1927; 9th ANFC, January 1930; 10th ANFC, March 1931. [Storms Collection, MCIA]

125.18th ANFC, January 1939.[Storms Collection, MCIA]

126."Shah-ray" with a higher tone on the second syllable, and neither syllable should be stressed. The "r" could be flapped once, but not trilled.

127.Four Christians in 1946; no women believers in 1951, Eileen Lageer, *MB*, February 1952, 14; the first six Kambari—all men—were baptized in July 1952 (the earlier Kambari Christians were not baptised because they could not read?), Gladys Reifel, *God Gives the Increase* (Elkhart, IN: Bethel Publishing, 1992), 64. Attendance was about 100 in 1963; Lloyd Lilly, "Salka's Fortieth Anniversary," *MB*, November 1963, 8. In 1974 there were about 250 attending the UMCA

church in Salka (most, but not all Kambari); Lois Fuller, "250 Converts in Salka, Nigeria," *Emphasis*, 15 July 1975, 8-9, compared to the UMCA in Zuru which had about 500 (1977 figure, mostly Lelna); [Sakaba Tom Rikoto], *Tarihin Ekklesiyar Kasar Zuru Daga 1925* ["History of the Church of the Land of Zuru from 1925"], mimeographed paper, 1977, 5.

128. Reifel, 66. From the perspective of the missionaries, "[w]omen believed that they could not learn. Their lot was to bear children and to do hard physical labour. Their part in the traditional religion was to follow the orders given to them. Women did not participate actively in their society."

129. Interpretation is from the UMCA missionaries in Ungwan Baluro, Rebecca (James) Lile and Esther (Timothy) Bawa (a k'Lela and a Salka Kambari respectively), personal communication, rainy season, 1993.

130. Fuller, "250 Converts," 9; and Russell Sloat, "New Church Opens in Salka, Nigeria Attendance-1300," *Emphasis*, 1 April 1978, 9.

131. An example of the exceptions: "Was over to see Mokwa a few days ago...Lageers will make good. Pray for Mokwa, for the Gov't wants to try and prohibit us from holding meetings in the former church in town. This will spoil our work there entirely, if carried out. Bro Shantz was scared out and had the meetings stopped there. I have again started them, and intend to have it out with the Gov't." Ira W Sherk to C N Good, 11 January 1918 [sic, 1919 is meant], from Shonga. [MCIA].

132. *United Missionary Year Book 1928*, 51-52.

133. 24th ANFC, November 1944; 25th, November 1945. [Storms Collection, MCIA] SIM had been allowed to open a mission at Jega, about 90 kilometres further northwest in 1937, in a similar situation, where medical services, and later a leprosarium (1956) helped found an indigenous church; CAPRO Research Office, 188. One wonders where the "fanatical" were in that larger town. See Albert D Helsler, *The Hand of God in the Sudan: More Demonstrations of Divine Power in the Sudan* (New York: Fleming H Revell, 1946), 21, 35-38, on the selection of Jega, and the ordinary opposition they did experience.

134. Ayandele, 147; Jan Harm Boer, *Missions: Heralds of Capitalism or Christ?* (Ibadan: Day Star [sic] Press, 1984), 60-72.

135. Paul E Lovejoy and Jan S Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897-1936* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 20.

136. Alexander Woods Banfield, "Missionary Tour from Lagos to Bornu, Sokoto, and Return," [38 page typescript report, ca 1930, Storms Collection, Personnel, MCIA], 20, 32-33. Banfield mentioned a region of Bornu, where he suspected the Residents perpetuated a myth of "native hostility" to keep out missions, and the scorn of British officers in Sokoto city and Birnin Kebbi against missions whom he met on the tour.

137. McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth*, 21-23. In this book, McGavran calls this method (especially with the “outstations,”) the “schools-approach.” Another name has been “gathered colony” approach.

138. Ross Harvey Bell, *Pioneer Doctor: The Struggles and Rewards* (Kitchener, ON: self-published, 1998), 11-25, began seriously thinking about medical missions by 1939, but the idea of a UMS hospital gained force after two UMS missionaries died in Nigeria in 1943. Bell was in the University of Toronto and then the Canadian Army medical training programme until 1946, and further preparations took until 1949 when the hospital finally began in Tungan Magajiya, then a village of 900 people in Niger Province, northwestern Nigeria. The Mission had dedicated hospitals previously, which did not have doctors and so now are considered a different class of institution. Cf *MB*, March 1962, 10, on Rose Rock Hospital at Jebba, also Storms, *WGHW*, 39.

139. Edgar H Smith, *Nigerian Harvest: A Reformed Witness to Jesus Christ ... Including a History of the Christian Reformed Church in the Benue Province from 1940 to 1970* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1972), 41.

140. Cf what was said describing the pioneer Canadian Congregationalist missionary Walter Currie (1858-1915) in Angola: “evangelist-farmer-carpenter-blacksmith-mason-doctor,” John T Tucker, *Currie of Chissamba: Herald of the Dawn* (Toronto: Committee on Missionary Education, United Church of Canada, 1945), 97.

141. McGavran, 23. Cf Arthur Glasser, “An Introduction to the Church Growth Perspectives of Donald Anderson McGavran,” in Harvie M Conn, ed, *Theological Perspectives on Church Growth* (Nutley, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing, 1977), 42. David Bosch condemns the world-view behind this form of colonialism in *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), 302-313.

142. Storms, *WGHW*, 79. Lageer, *Merging Streams*, 189, accepts the link between the deaths and an increase of missionary applicants as well as Nigerian staff.

143. Richard V Pierard, “*Pax Americana* and the Evangelical Missionary Advance,” in Joel A Carpenter and Wilbert R Shenk, ed, *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880-1980* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B Eerdmans Publishing, 1990), 158.

144. Sundkler and Steed, 745.

145. Begun in Igbeti but moved to Mokwa because the mission received grants for the school from the Northern Province government, which objected to giving money to an institution 8 kilometres inside Southern Nigeria.

146. The unusual village name, a Hausa one meaning “Settlement of the Leader” with a feminine ending, was given, in local tradition, in recognition of a woman trader of strong character (derived however from the traditional title for either the leader of the *bori* spirit-possession cult or of prostitutes). The outsider’s name masks the indigenous clan name Kirho. The site, 8 kilometres

from the main Dukawa town of Rijau (Ur-jau), was picked partly to avoid being under the view of the Muslim Hausa-Fulani *sarki* (king) of the Dukawa, (who discouraged the mission from settling in the town in any case), and because the small hill on the edge of a stream at the south of Tungan Magajiya seemed better than the poorly drained sites available in Rijau.

147. Halima Danmallam Fuller, "Fifty Years of Christian Experience in Rijau L.G.A. 1947-1997," M.A. Thesis in Religious Studies, (Christian Option), University of Ilorin, Nigeria, 1997. The Dukawa were thought to number 12,000 people in the 1940s, today they are at least 73,000, Storms, *WGHW*, 77; Grimes, 342.

148. 27th ANFC, October 1947, Igbeti.

149. *MB*, September 1967, 11.

150. "31st ANFC, October 1951, Share," *UMS Journal* (1952), 18; "33rd ANFC, October 1953, Tungan Magajiya," *UMS Journal* (1954), 22; "42nd ANFC, October 1962, Ilorin," *UMS Journal* (1963), 75-76; "43rd ANFC, October 1964, Ilorin," *UMS Journal* (1964), 75. The Boko-Baru cluster of people may number 70,000 people, CAPRO Research Office, 269.

151. Also called Baruba, and the language called Baruten, CAPRO Research Office, 30-35. They were last estimated to number 60,000 (Grimes, 338). In Benin, the Bariba have a community of about 425,000, Patrick Johnstone and Jason Mandryk, ed, *Operation World: 21st Century Edition* 6th ed, (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster Press, 2001), 106. The SIM-related church has rather less than 7000 Bariba members.

152. *MB*, June 1953, 11, reported the first convert (of 27 for that year), although Virgil and Betty (Best) Pollock admitted that Hausa, which they were using, was not very well understood, and virtually all of these "converts" lost interest later. Florence Finlay, *MB*, December 1953, 5, reported after a visit, that the Pollocks were making progress in the Bariba language, even composing choruses. Other missionary couples worked at Gurai over the eleven years. The mission had reached its peak of expansion in the middle 1950s, observed Russell Sloat at the handing over ceremony in 1978 (Lageer, *Merging Streams*, 197). The Bariba mission is a nearly forgotten effort in the history of the UMS.

153. Betty Pollock, "Four Baptized at Gurai," *MB*, June 1963, 5, one of the four was Bariba. Wayne H Brenneman, "U.M.S. to Transfer Station," *GB*, 12 September 1963, 13. SIM began missionary work in Benin in 1946.

154. Unpublished reports of the Searchlight Survey of Kwara State, ca1990, part of an uncompleted national survey of Christianity in every local government in Nigeria being carried out by the Nigeria Evangelical Missions Association. Some reports were published.

155. McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth*, deals with responsiveness to sections of a people group resulting from political changes, but not exactly this case where political boundaries alter the responsiveness of groups who have remained in their ancestral territories. The writer has

noticed how many Nigerians act like Nigerians, now that they have been together in a political unit for nearly 100 years, just as African-Americans are more American than African, however much they may wish to claim ties with Africa.

156. SIM built their Kent Academy at Miango, their rest house station. Cooperation with the Church of the Brethren Mission was first mentioned in Field Conference minutes in 1950, ("30th ANFC, 30 October- 3 November 1950, Share," *UMS Journal* (1951), 18); the property was bought from Fred B Whale whose wife Grace (Fledges) Whale worked with the Boy's Brigade in Nigeria after terms with SIM. She was a UMC member whose parents had been missionaries in Armenia with the UOMS 1900-1903. Cf also "34th ANFC, October 1954, Share," *UMS Journal* (1955), 28, 41. Lucy Lee Minnix, "Hillcrest's 25th Anniversary," *MB*, August 1967, 5.

157. That is, ruled by a Hausa-Fulani dynasty under the Sokoto caliphate as traditional leaders. "32nd ANFC, October 1952, Tungan Magajiya," *UMS Journal* (1953), p 15.

158. To the present, the Ilorin Indigenes Christian Fellowship is aware of around 300 Christians of Ilorin families in the city, although all Christians number perhaps 150,000.

159. Storms, *HUMC*, 246. It is about half a million in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

160. Wayne H Brenneman, "A Vision Develops," *MB*, June 1957, 13,15. UMCA Pake (Yoruba, started 1955) received permission to build on land close to an old market practically in the old city in 1959 (*MB*, August 1959, 2). The "Hausa" church started 1960-1962 (the first church for Hausa-speakers in Ilorin), helped by the experience of Sule Magaji, then a student at the College. A Nupe congregation began as a unit of the Theological College (English-language) congregation but became a distinct congregation only in 1986. The Igala congregation in Ilorin resulted from the preaching of Rev Joseph R Babatunde in Ilorin; *Emphasis*, 15 January 1974, 6. The Igala are from Benue State, east of the Niger River beyond Lokoja, where other missions and churches have evangelized. Apart from a temporary congregation of Igalas in Jebba, their congregation in Ilorin has remained unique in the UMCA.

161. The emir granted the College land on the edge of the colonial government settlement when he was newly turbaned (crowned, in European terms). He is said to have regretted the grant in later years.

162. Eldon Boettger, "Many Villages," *MB*, September 1954, 5, 14.

163. Lageer, "Agara'iwa," *The Heathen for Thine Inheritance*, [unpaginated]. Agara'iwa was the name the mission used, until flooding from Kainji Lake made the chief in Agwara on the former bank of the Niger River move to Agara'iwa, *MB*, March 1965, 9.

164. Testimony of Bawa (older brother of Shirika) of Masaji to Lois (Bossard) Cable Hossler, about 1961, from contemporary notes, Personal communications, 15 and 18 February, 2003. Additional factors have been the prior oppression of the Muslim emirs of Borgu (so Kambari generally do not think of joining Islam), and association of Christianity with progress.

165. *MB*, September 1954, 10. The same had been done by a Salka Kambari a few months before; Pastor Indazo (translated by Edma Brubacher), "A Fetish Leader Finds the Lord," *MB*, May 1954, 12.

166. Bulus recalled thinking that the Roman Catholic Mission was using incantations in their service, because they sang in Hausa, when he was following his father's cows at about age twelve, Personal communication with Yohanna Bulus, UMCA missionary and evangelist from Demo, Agwara area.

167. Estimate from research by the author, 1994-1999.

168. *MB*, March 1960, 7. The Ibadan congregation had a start with Willis Hunking building up a group led by Nigerian elders Oladunjoye and Ogundele, in three series of meetings in Ibadan in 1955-1956, "Arise and Go to the South," *MB*, April 1956, 5, 12. The core of this group were migrants from Share and Igbeti; Fuller, *Faith of Our Fathers*, 57. A functioning congregation only started in 1960, "Nigerian Acting Field Superintendent's Report," *UMS Journal* (1961), 28.

169. Willis Hunking, "New District Opened," *MB*, May 1961, 12, "43rd ANFC, October 1963, Ilorin," *UMS Journal* (1964), 77, Harold Brown, "Report from Sapele," *MB*, December 1964, 8.

170. Emanuel A Kunu, "My Testimony," *MB*, October 1964, 7; *MB*, March 1967, 5. The nearby town of Ekrodo Jesse, and a place called Ikakumo are mentioned as places to be followed up as well (mentioned 1961, 1962) with "mobile evangelism" by Rev Robert and Mrs Beverley (Redfield) Cheesmur, "42nd ANFC, October 1962, Ilorin," *UMS Journal* (1963), 78. Nigerians named are Robinson Ogako and Wilson Osuoha, *MB*, May 1962, 4. Note on Ikakumo: see Mary Paulus and Eileen Lageer, "Conference Chronicle," *MB* January 1962, 3.

171. Robert Hall Glover, *The Progress of World-Wide Missions*, revised and enlarged by J Herbert Kane (New York, Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1960), 275, reported out of a Nigerian population of 33 million, a Christian community of 1,370,000, mostly in the southern third of the country.

172. The field had requested budget money to build a house for Mr and Mrs Honsberger, but was turned down, *UMS Journal* (1963), 21.

173. Wayne H Brenneman, "New Tribes are Entered in Nigeria," *GB*, 2 March 1961, 13.

174. Gordon Bolender, "Fruit of the Church in Nigeria," *MB*, April 1954, 6; *MB*, May 1962, 4; *MB*, February 1964, 12.

175. *MB*, June 1962, 11, UMS Field superintendent O L Traub reported that Pastor Aremu had learned the Dagomba language, a prominent tribe around Tamale, northern Ghana. The field made a policy not to send any North American missionary, "41st ANFC, October 1961, [Ilorin]," *UMS Journal* (1962), 53; (see also O L Traubs' report of a journey to Tamale, Ghana, in early March 1962, *UMS Journal*, (1962), 81), thinking to encourage Nigerian leadership in this cross-

cultural missionary effort.

176. Cp Traub's realistic assessment of March 1962, *ibid.*, and Everek R Storms, "Ghana Recognizes UMCA," *GB*, 2 May 1968, 13.

177. *Emphasis*, 15 December 1969, 10; *Emphasis*, 1 December 1970, 11.

178. In the 1960s, 24 career and 7 short-term staff (14 of them Canadian) were appointed to Nigeria. From 1970 until 1982, no career missionaries were sent to Nigeria. One couple went to teach at Hillcrest in 1974. Three couples were sent as short-term teachers or medical staff in 1972 and one single teacher in 1974 (all Canadians plus one Jamaican).

179. Lugibihl and Gerig, 90-91; Sierra Leone (1945), Dominican Republic (1945), Ecuador (1945), Hawaii (1946), Jamaica (1949), Haiti (1951).

180. Richard S Reilly, *MB*, March 1967, 2.

181. Eldon Boettger, "Come and See... Then Pray and Obey," *MB*, September 1962, 8. One of the commonest messages sent by the staff in Nigeria over the decades, was, "Where are the men?" cf *MB*, May 1961, 11, and requests that the board send more workers.

182. Eg Mrs Paul [Pheobe (Brenneman)] Ummel and Esther Cressman, "Nigeria Annual Conference Echoes," *MB*, December 1953, 4-5, listed nine assigned to Tungan Magajiya, where the hospital was, seven to Share-Nupe, five, plus Nigerian Daniel O Taylor, at Share-Yoruba, four each at Zuru and Salka, where there were schools, Igbeti-eight, schools again.

183. Nigerian cross-cultural missionary movements stirred the Theological College congregation to start missionary/church-planting efforts among the Ebira near Okene (Kogi State) and Gbari near Minna, (Niger State) besides strengthening northern district church extension.

184. The only UMCA congregation of Ibos at Jebba closed and about 100 in the College church in Ilorin fled during the war as well; John Bontrager, "The Situation in Nigeria," *GB*, 24 August 1967, 15. The College helped many Ibos hide before they found safe ways to leave the Northern Region (Personal communication, Willis Hunking).

185. In a missionary children's class of six UMS children who began at Hillcrest, the families of four of them returned to Canada in the 1970s before the end of high school studies precisely to enable their sons and daughters to prepare to complete Ontario's Grade 13. (Personal communication, Peter and Becky (Lilly) Dennison, 10 February 2003.)

186. The British colonial service's policy in Africa before World War II was identical with the missions' with respect to children: at school age, or before, they were left in the home country. Like the pith helmet and quinine, it was assumed to be a necessary evil; Charles Allen, ed, *Tales From the Dark Continent: Images of British Colonial Africa in the Twentieth Century* (London: Futura, 1980), 143.

187. The author has heard this numerous times from missionaries retired from Nigeria. The slogan also expressed the aim of the colonial government in the 1950s (Brenneman, "Indigenization," 8.) UMS President Quinton J Everest in an annual report said it was "gratifying to see the native church... assuming more... and thus in some areas working our missionaries out of jobs. This should be the ultimate goal in every place where missionary work is carried on." *UMS Journal* (1959), 4.

188. To an extent this was true in missions in northern Nigeria, but it hardly merits the scorn of J F Ade Ajayi in "From Mission to Church: The Heritage of the Church Mission Society," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 23:2 (April 1999) 55, "They would rather send African evangelists ahead, with no formal Western education but well versed in the Scriptures and covered into subservience to the white man." The characteristic manner of catholic (Anglican or Roman) withdrawal, has been "sideways:" as indigenous priests slowly become available, after their long formation period (nine or more years), a diocese receives an indigenous bishop, and the foreign missionaries step away to a new or carved out territory, where the missionary order or society is still totally in charge.

189. Roughly the experience of the Congo Inland Mission (a cooperative Mennonite mission) in Zaire/Congo, Jim Bertsche, *CIM/AIMM: A Story of Vision, Commitment and Grace* ([Elkhart, IN?]: Fairway Press, 1998). Resentment over European or American control of Nigerian congregations led to early breakaways from missions in Nigeria between 1890 and 1930, usually 50 to 80 years after the founding of the missions in Nigeria. Cf David B Barrett, *Schism and Renewal in Africa: An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements* (Nairobi: Oxford, 1968).

190. Wayne H Brenneman, "Indigenization," 3. The transition to Nigerian leadership of the Nigerian churches related to missions in northern Nigeria came about within a few years of each other. SIM (first station 1902) founded ECWA (Evangelical Churches of West Africa, later changed to Evangelical Church of West Africa) in 1954, with full ownership in 1976.

SUM (founded in 1904) and the Church of the Brethren Mission (entered Nigeria 1919) formed the Nigerian fellowship TEKAS (acronym of Hausa name) in 1955, (registered legally 1956) with the with full independence in the 1970s.

The UMS (first station 1905) set up a Nigerian Church, the United Missionary Church of Africa which was inaugurated in 1955, with independence in 1978.

The Dutch Reformed Church Mission from South Africa (first missionaries in 1909) with their partners the Christian Reformed Church mission (first missionary 1919), established the NKST (Nongo u Kristu hen Sudan ken Tiv) in 1957; Edgar H Smith, *Nigerian Harvest*, 276. NKST joined TEKAS in 1959.

The similar time lines reflect the similar length of time the missions had spent in Nigeria and the mood anticipating independence that gained pace rapidly in most of the colonies of European countries after the Second World War, cf Thomas O'Toole, "The Historical Context," in April A Gordon and Donald L Gordon, ed, *Understanding Contemporary Africa* 3rd ed, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001), 50-51. Missions in southern Nigeria have parallel experiences, but they are paced differently, eg Southern Baptists entered Nigeria in 1850,

and saw the Yoruba Baptist Association organized in 1914. Cf the BiC in India and Zimbabwe/ Zambia: H Frank Kipe, "From Mission to Church: Zambia and Zimbabwe," *Brethren in Christ History and Life* 17 (August 1994) 145-156, entered in 1906 and 1898 respectively. African leadership was put in place in 1964, with other transitions following until the late 1970s (152-153).

CHAPTER 4

THE PATH TO INDIGENIZATION

The Mennonite Brethren in Christ Missionary Society and the United Missionary Society set about evangelizing, but also training Nigerians to act as Christian agents for a Nigerian church. To the pioneer workers, that goal seemed very far off as genuine converts seemed few and far between, but they had the examples of earlier missions in Nigeria and perhaps more so their home church experience in North America to guide them. It was an ethnocentric vision at first, but by the 1930s and 1940s, the vision was beginning to be corrected. New young missionaries after the Second World War led the drive to create a consciously “indigenous” church in a partnership with the Mission. The United Missionary Church of Africa of 1955 was still a missionary-directed organization, however, and needed a second sendoff in 1978 to walk the path to a more indigenous Church life. Some of the institutions initiated by the post-war generation of missionaries survived, and some of them did not. The UMCA struggles to be a unified indigenous Christian community among the other Christian bodies of Nigeria.

“Native Workers”: Teachers, Evangelists and Pastors.

The experience of most Protestant missions to Africa in the nineteenth century, and West Africa in particular, was that Europeans could not stand “the climate” for long¹ and therefore the belief arose that Africans, perhaps beginning with freed slaves from the British Caribbean colonies, Nova Scotia, or the United States of America, would be the next best missionary

material.² Another source of missionary agents was hoped for from the “recaptives” (Africans freed by the British anti-slave trade naval patrols of the first half of the nineteenth century) of Sierra Leone. There were notable missionaries from the churches of these places. It became the common opinion that the Church could not be established in the interior of Africa without their help, in fact, the major contribution would be from the African people themselves. This was a pragmatic view, distinct from theological conviction about the indigenous church which Henry Venn of the CMS held.

However, a late-coming church like the MBiC had almost no contact with African-Canadians or African-Americans, nor channels to obtain agents from either Sierra Leone or the Caribbean. While the early missions to coastal Nigeria were able to call on Nigerians who had become Christians at Freetown or at coastal trading stations, missions to northern Nigeria had no indigenous Christians to speak of. When the AIM team stayed for four months in Lokoja before settling on a Nupe emirate to begin their mission, they had ample time to learn from the CMS of High Commissioner Sir Frederick Lugard’s slave settlement home,³ and to make arrangements to have some children assigned to their mission, to raise and teach in Christian things.⁴ They openly hoped that some of these children would become the foundation of a Nigerian Christian evangelistic team.

Many missionaries of the first generation after William Carey expected rapid evangelization and wide reception of the Christian gospel. Events shaped another generation’s more limited expectations, even to the point of expecting minimal response among Muslims. Walter Miller, CMS missionary to the old Hausa city of Zaria (he served there from 1905), after two years was ready to describe the Muslim bloc as forming “one of the darkest problems for

missionary work and I see no light.”⁵ Banfield’s experience similarly led him to predict a longer period of evangelization, certainly among the Nupe he met who followed a mix of traditional religion and Islam. “The outlook of the work here at this time seems bright, but one must consider that the people among whom we are working are Mohammedans, and it may take years of labour here before any fruit is seen.”⁶ One of Banfield’s language teachers at Patigi, Nda Limung⁷, made a profession of faith and apparently suffered a lot for it, and was called by R V Bingham a “co-worker” at first. It was said that later efforts to trace him failed.⁸ One “Nda Liman” with the MBiC mission who had been “under missionary influence” for five years was dismissed in December 1906 after a period of disapproved behaviour.⁹ Both in AIM/SIM and the MBiC mission, the missionaries continually watched the people in their care or employ to see signs of faith and ability to become the “native help” (teachers, catechists, evangelists, pastors) that they were praying for. With their holiness and Mennonite moral standards of conduct in hand, the MBiC missionaries were often feeling disappointment at the behaviour of their children and staff.¹⁰

Field conference minutes, which date from 1922,¹¹ are often lacking in names of Nigerian staff, although they are frequently referred to as a group. It is perhaps significant that the year a missionary who wanted to train a Nigerian in North America was field secretary, she recorded the names of all eight “native workers” with the mission.¹² Nevertheless, there is evidence that the field had a growing desire to build up indigenous leadership for the UMS Christian community.

The 1923 minutes noted, “The matter regarding the support of native workers was discussed,” but no decision was recorded.¹³ There was an extensive discussion in world missionary communities about the propriety of paying the salaries of “native help.” The practice

of hiring citizens from the country for various mission tasks: teachers, catechists, interpreters, and colporteurs and eventually evangelists and pastors, was almost universal in the nineteenth and even twentieth centuries. The debate was not begun, but became intense by, the famous example of the method of John L. Nevius in Korea. By this plan nearly all the missions there decided six years after Korea was opened by treaty to western residents, to operate by teaching and expecting Christian evangelists to be supported not by foreign funds, but by indigenous Christians.¹⁴ The MBiC mission followed the common pattern of supporting “native help” (as they became available),¹⁵ perhaps developed from North American support first for orphans (Armenia) and then the children in Nigeria who were rescued either from slavery or given by other arrangements, living and learning at a mission station. As the children became older, if they seemed “promising,” the tendency would be to continue support for them, now as teacher-preachers or evangelists.

One missionary newly arrived in 1921, Stella Lantz, came with a plan in her mind not only to search for promising young men or women, but if possible, to pay for their schooling in North America.¹⁶ In the end, her salary only allowed her to support one person.¹⁷ When her first furlough came up in 1924, encouraged by the acting field superintendent (William Finlay), she took Jonathan Awesu (ca 1905-1968) to Kansas.¹⁸ At the field conference of April 1924, Finlay admitted the plan was a risk, but worth trying. Unfortunately, Finlay died at Jebba in September. Lantz later said, “if any objections had been voiced...they should have been placed on record,” suggesting that there were objections later.¹⁹ While Lantz was out of the country, a field conference at the end of 1924 under superintendent Ira Sherk discussed “the problem of Native Workers and their support.” Perhaps the case of Lantz and Awesu stimulated the field to address the native worker issue. From the perspective of the 1950s, Wayne Brenneman said that the idea

of the Mission sponsoring a Nigerian to study in “America” was “tabu” in earlier periods.²⁰ Since 1935, the year Awesu returned to Nigeria, the “Home Board” of the UMS maintained a standing rule that “in future, no native be brought to America to be educated, except by the recommendation of the Field Board and the consent of the General Board.”²¹ In practice no recommendation was ever given. The field resolved on policies concerning allowances “except those personally supported by the missionaries,” stationing workers, and defining three classes of Nigerians with support (child, worker in training, and Approved Native Worker), and called for creation of educational and spiritual standards for Nigerians’ promotion to Approved standing.²² A committee to set the standards reported to the 1926 field conference (none was held in 1925). The standards reflect the mission’s opinion of what could be expected of the young men available through the schools they operated:

Educational Requirements of Native Workers, to read and write fluently [no language specified], a ready knowledge of simple mathematics.

Spiritual requirements, to give evidence in life and testimony of a full change of heart by regeneration of the Holy Spirit, manifesting progress in the Christian Graces, and a desire for the Salvation of their fellow men. Having sufficient knowledge of the Bible to give Scriptural exhortations on the Spiritual meaning of the works and teachings of Christ.²³

In 1935, Awesu returned to Jebba with a BA from John Fletcher College, Iowa, and an MA in Theology from Chicago Evangelistic Institute,²⁴ and became headmaster of various UMS schools but mostly in Jebba, serving for many years, and preaching in revival services.²⁵ Brenneman suggests that Awesu was “not always an asset” to the UMS and UMCA, but points out that he did not have full acceptance by the field leadership.²⁶ With his wife Mary Adunola who had a Baptist environment, of the city of Ogbomosho, he left a family from whom have come leaders in the Nigerian church and education.²⁷ Jonathan Awesu was the only Nigerian

sponsored abroad by the UMS or UMS missionaries until David Kolawole in September 1961.²⁸

Not every member of the UMS approved of the individualistic manner of Lantz' plan, and a mission rule later tried to minimize occasions for jealousy among young men connected with the mission. Individuals were not allowed to sponsor Nigerians personally, but a common fund was created for projects supported by personal donations, projects which needed the consent of the other staff.²⁹ The "U.M.S. Standing Rules for Missionaries on the Field. 1944" as revised stated,

All correspondence and gifts from absentee missionaries and supporters to native workers or boys be prohibited except such open letters may be sent in care of the missionary in charge, to be passed on at his [sic] discretion, and that we advise the intercepting of all others.³⁰

When the attenders of the services in Jebba were organized as a congregation in 1927, the field decided the time had come to move toward the three-self goal of "self-support." They asked the congregation to support the Jebba school teachers, also Jameson Aduku Ommoh.³¹ In another approach toward field-generated self-support, the conference of missionaries agreed that "profits from Jebba bookshop" would be "used to support native workers."³² They resolved also to request North American donors who had been giving to support Nigerian workers, to direct it now to a North American missionary.³³

The education of Nigerian Christian workers was addressed steadily from the 1929 Annual Field Conference, when a course of Bible Study is mentioned for the first time, apart from the regular schools run by the UMS.³⁴ In July of 1929, 14 native workers and their families met over nearly two weeks with day classes and preaching meetings in the evening, at Jebba. A missionary³⁵ was assigned to organize and teach in another "Bible School" for 1930, and the field superintendent was mandated to search for a permanent Bible Training School site.³⁶ The Bible

School Committee, meeting at Jebba, 5 January 1932, agreed to take Jebba as a temporary site, and to build there a 3-room dormitory to house the students. The duration was still about ten to twelve days, although there was a tendency to make it shorter. The conversions at Salka had been few and the first in Zuru were recorded in 1933, so training was still on an almost one to one basis in the northern stations and at first used the language of the people, not Hausa.

In 1938 two schools were conducted, one for Yoruba-speaking workers, and one for Nupe workers in Igbeti and Mokwa. In 1940, Bible schools for the three language groups of Yoruba, Nupe and “Hausa” workers took shape, but in 1944, “due to the growth of the work” each station was instructed to arrange for its own “Regional Bible Conventions” open to all Christians under the station.³⁷ With this last change, the character of the meetings as designed specifically to train a Nigerian leadership ended, and other avenues had to be explored.

In fact, as early as 1935 another approach was begun. The field had no missionaries to send to Salka or Igbeti, and “urgently requested” the “Home Board” to send 6 new workers. The missionaries in Nigeria had been frustrated so often, they gave thought to indigenization, although the word is not used,

Whereas the objective of our work has been a trained ministry, therefore [resolved,] that we appeal to our home Board that they make Provision whereby we may be given a higher status on the field with authority to ordain [sic—ordain] our native ministers, and further, that the Field Board be granted permission to submit to the General Board a course of study substituting books in the vernacular where advisable.³⁸

Russell Sloat, a graduate of Fort Wayne Bible Institute,³⁹ arrived in Nigeria in 1935.

Wayne Brenneman credits him as being behind the mission’s efforts to indigenise the Christian community in the 1940s and 1950s.⁴⁰ He taught in most of the Native Workers’ Meetings from 1936 whenever he was in Nigeria, and on his furloughs continued learning, mostly in education.⁴¹

Although older members of the mission certainly approved of the idea of “self-propagation,” Brenneman said there was a lack of “really effective plans” to bring it about. As to self-government, he says he and his wife heard it many times in the 1940s and 1950s that the Nigerian Christians were “just not ready for it.”⁴² Nevertheless, a minute of the 23rd Field Conference is a clear reference to one of the three-self indigenous church ideals: “Resolved that we remind ourselves of the urgency of working toward a self-supporting native church.”⁴³ Ira Sherk stepped down from being field superintendent in 1946, after 31 years of remarkable service. Russell Sloat took his place for the next twelve years, except for 1948-1949, and set about establishing a structure for a Nigerian church.⁴⁴ The field was translating theory into action when it was decided there should be a “committee of three to promote by every legitimate means a plan to make our African work self-supporting at earliest possible date.”⁴⁵ When Russell Sloat returned from North America and resumed being field leader, a new committee, enlarged to five members, received a mandate to draw up a broader detailed plan for indigenization.⁴⁶ Sloat had discussed field policy with the General Secretary in 1949, when requests for indigenization in India and Nigeria were first mentioned. At first the General Board of the UMS was thinking of indigenization in terms of setting up structures of Annual Conferences in the mission fields, which would relate to the North American MBiC or (after 1947) the UMC General Conference.⁴⁷

The UMS General Board went on record in 1948 and 1949 that the Mission insisted “on a strong Evangelistic program” and “not being in favor of an Agricultural or institutional emphasis.” The latter term was meant in the special sense as used by “liberal” churches in the 1930s and 1940s,⁴⁸ for the Board was about to recommend several new institutions to their fields: schools to prepare workers for evangelistic work, spiritual retreats for missionary staff and schools for

missionary children on the field. These policies led to the greatest period of institution-formation in the history of the mission.⁴⁹

It seems the Nigerian field responded quickly to these policy statements—days for prayer and deepening the spiritual life of the staff appear regularly in field minutes from 1950 on, and families began petitioning the Board to allow them to take their children back to Nigeria with them. Field leaders began investigating cooperative arrangements with the Church of the Brethren Mission for missionary children’s schooling. Also by November 1950, the field had set up an “African Committee” which was beginning to work on a Yoruba Hymn Book, had permission to seat ordained Nigerians in the field conference, and had agreed to start vernacular Bible Schools, in addition to the Yoruba school at Igbeti. An English Bible School was added when D O Taylor objected that by keeping English away from the church leadership, they would have trouble advancing given the trends in Nigeria.⁵⁰ The missionaries granted the Nigerian ministry, ordained and non-ordained pastors, the authority to dedicate children from then on.⁵¹

Congregations and Ordination

Although Banfield in 1905 proudly pointed to the building he had constructed at Tsonga as the first MBiC church outside of North America,⁵² in fact it was only a meeting place, and the biblical church was many years away from appearing. Cornelia Pannabecker regularly referred to the congregations at Jebba 1911-1914 as “crowds,” even though many were Christians, at least in name, from the earlier missions of the West African coastal areas. The holiness MBiC missionaries were slow to count anyone as truly converted, because they were looking for “fruits of repentance” and testimonies to the experience of sanctification as well as public profession of faith.⁵³ They relied on several young Christians for translation in visitation and preaching, and

Cornelia for a period prayed regularly with Wusa.⁵⁴ Wusa had married Mamudu in the first “Christian” wedding in Tsonga,⁵⁵ but when it came time for the ordinances of Washing the Saints’ Feet or the Lord’s Supper, Pannabecker mentions only missionary personnel being present. No one had been baptized yet.⁵⁶ At some point the UMS adopted a rule that “all candidates for baptism must learn to read the Bible in their own language,” which must have restricted membership for a time to those with leisure or were expendable from the farm or cook house.⁵⁷

The Mission had a structural problem as well. The field could not ordain ministers in Nigeria. Although ordained, Alexander Banfield and Ira Sherk as field superintendents were technically not Presiding Elders. Only Annual Conferences had the authority to examine and approve candidates. The 14th Annual Nigerian Field Conference petitioned the UMS General Board to provide “for a higher status on the field with authority to [ordain] our native ministers.” The field also wished for instruction about a reading course adapted to the educational situation in Nigeria, and the availability of literature in Nigerian languages. The field did not hear from the General Board for several years despite reminders from the field conference.⁵⁸ They put together a reading course at the 17th Field Conference in 1938 and finally heard about permission from the Board in North America on 28 January 1939.

Part of the hesitation by the UMS was a result of uncertainties the UMS had in relation to the MBiC General Conference.⁵⁹ The MBiC *Discipline* made no provision for ordination outside of the Annual Conferences, as mentioned before, and presumably this issue had to be worked out constitutionally. In typical evangelical fashion, The MBiC, the UMC and their missions emphasized evangelism and salvation doctrines, to which holiness teaching was added in this case.⁶⁰ MBiC ecclesiology was practical for the running of an evangelistic organization, but not

designed for a pioneer church-planting mission in other cultures.⁶¹ The earlier Mennonite practice of ordaining any nominated male member of the congregation selected by lot would have allowed them that ability.

The first baptisms the mission reported were at Jebba in 1913, after C T Homuth's revival preaching brought people to the "altar" seeking forgiveness of sins over a period of two years. The candidates were mostly southern Nigerians who had grown up in contact with Christianity. Mostly in the employ of the government or the railway, these workers were transferred rapidly,⁶² and the mission hesitated to consider the attenders a Christian congregation until 1927. At a communion service in August that year, 33 Nigerians joined the missionaries in the remembrance.⁶³

In 1926, the UMS' first "outstation" was organized. Pastor Abel Kolawole (?1894-1986), a Yagba Yoruba who had been baptized by the SIM and who spoke Nupe, was appointed to Kpaki.⁶⁴ The town, 25 kilometres from Mokwa, was never intended to be a "mission station" and in effect, Kolawole became the first Nigerian UMS pastor.

One circumstance that encouraged this step after 21 years of the mission was the availability of educated Nigerians like Daniel Olaleye Taylor (ca 1894-1977) from Ipoti, now in Ekiti State.⁶⁵ Like Kolawole, he was not initially disciplined through the UMS.

Baptized as an Anglican schoolboy in Offa, Ilorin Province, Taylor's job as a clerk with the railway took him to Jebba in 1922. There a carpenter from the Gold Coast lent him issues of an American magazine that taught him the evangelical doctrine of conversion, which affected him greatly. Back at his primary assignment in Zungeru, Taylor made his confession to God and prayed for salvation. A visiting Anglican minister spoke to Taylor about entering the ministry,

which in fact he believed God wanted him to do. He wanted to earn enough money for marriage first, but when back in Jebba for another assignment, he began attending the UMS meeting where William Finlay got him involved in scripture reading and interpreting. Unknowingly, Finlay spurred Taylor's awareness that he should become a Christian minister. July of 1924 saw him begin teaching in the UMS primary school and eventually preaching at Jebba and surrounding villages. He is first mentioned in field conference minutes of 1927 along with one called James McKaison who was also a teacher and interpreter.⁶⁶ This same field conference also mentioned trying "to have communion services with native Christians every two months," that is, "baptized Christians."⁶⁷

From 1933 to 1939, Taylor was the headmaster of the Jebba UMS school, but he also was examined in the *MBiC Discipline*, the first step in the minister's reading course leading to ordination. He was the first one to do so, scored 85%, and was accepted as a probationer.⁶⁸ As mentioned before, the field could not move far toward ordination, as they had no authority to do so until 1939. Taylor continued his studies after that date and completed the exams for the reading course.⁶⁹ He was ordained March 1943, and in 1944 was appointed pastor at Igbeti (for 5 years), in place of the missionaries. He remained the only ordained Nigerian of the UMS/ UMCA for seventeen years, which suggests the UMS in Nigeria had serious difficulty encouraging Nigerian leadership to develop. In effect, the mission benefited from the education given by the older CMS to one in their system, and did not find it initially in the UMS sphere.

Brenneman said in 1955 that the English Bible School was opened with D O Taylor as principal deliberately to prepare candidates for ordination. In fact he remained as principal of the Yoruba school adding English instruction to the Yoruba curriculum. The course was even

shortened from four years to two to encourage enrollment.⁷⁰ The Theological College (to be described later) appeared to be a successful institution from enrollment statistics, but as early as 1962, Ozro Traub complained about the lack of UMCA students in attendance:

The young folk and their parents are continually pressing for additional facilities for higher training—why then are there so few who recognize the value of Bible training?⁷¹

This problem has continued well into the era of the independent church.⁷² From a Nigerian perspective, the problem has largely been the wretched salary of a UMCA pastor.⁷³ The problem was compounded by the fact that when graduates from higher levels were available, their higher expected salaries discouraged the districts from appointing them.⁷⁴

The next candidate mentioned in the field minutes, Joseph Alabi, passed the *Discipline* exam during 1944, but proceeded no further.⁷⁵ The third candidate, Jonathan Alabi Amao (ca 1924-2000), passed the higher year exams from 1947 to 1951 and had one book left to study,⁷⁶ but at the urging of the Mission, took training as a nurse for the new mission hospital in Tungan Magajiya. As a head of nursing he gave honoured Christian leadership among Christian nurses nation-wide as well as in the UMCA. Amao nevertheless was ordained but not until 1981 after being elected as the second president of the UMCA.

It appears that the next candidates, as a group, came out of the first class to graduate from the Yoruba Bible School in 1954, and is an example of the shift from self-preparation to schooling going on in UMS and UMCA.⁷⁷ Paul Taiwo was among them, and was the second person to be ordained for the UMCA, in 1960.⁷⁸ Two more were passed for ordination in 1961 (Simon Adedokun and Joseph Adeyemi) when the UMCA already counted 58 pastors.⁷⁹ A fourth, John A Adelodun, was ordained in 1963.⁸⁰ These were all Yorubas. Following them, the number of

ordained people in the UMCA slowly rose to about a dozen up until the year of the hand over. When the first pastor of the Hausa Conference, a k'Lela from Senchi, Kebbi State, named Ezra Dikki was ordained in 1966, he became the eleventh person to be ordained in the UMCA.⁸¹

One of the many problems created in the UMCA by having few ordained Nigerians, was that church ceremonies such as baptism and participating in the Lord's Supper were so greatly hindered that a generation of church members grew up who had been Christians for long periods without the sign of being a disciple of Jesus, and there was danger of people not paying attention to the witness of baptism. Similarly, the restriction of leadership in remembering the Lord's death to a rare cadre of church leaders meant that the teaching of the communion service was uncommon.⁸² Church weddings were also put into the power of ordained church men, with a resulting over-working of the few people available. These disproportions in Church life were partly the result of a Constitution worked out by the mission and the African Committee set up about 1950 when total church membership and community was quite small, and will be examined again in the next section.

The United Missionary Church of Africa: 1955 and 1978

As has been mentioned, the Nigerian field conference of the UMS around 1950 set up committees to effect an indigenous church. By "indigenous principles" they would have understood, as Wayne Brenneman did in the 1950s, the three-fold goal of guiding the formation, from the community of Nigerian Christians and congregations converted and pastored by the UMS, some kind of organization in Nigeria that was 1) Nigerian-led, 2) supported by Nigerian Christian offerings, and 3) propagating itself by Nigerian-initiated evangelism.⁸³ This simple standard of measuring "indigenous" church formation seems simple to apply; in practice it has

been hard to bring to completion.⁸⁴ The concept itself has been modified by friends and attacked by enemies, and misused as a slogan for anti-Christian purposes in Communist China.⁸⁵ More recently missiologists and other theologians have largely replaced the whole indigenous concept with the development of “contextualization” as the goal of the Church’s “mission.”⁸⁶ The MBiC mission and the UMS to 1978, of course, were not operating with “contextualization” missiology in mind, hence this work’s attention to “indigenization.”

Unfortunately for would-be missionary indigenizers, fifty years of direction by the foreign mission is a powerful counter to the very effort of indigenizing. Although the ideas of Nevius, Roland Allen (*Missionary Methods: St Paul’s or Ours?* (1912);⁸⁷ *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church*), and Melvin J Hodges, *The Indigenous Church* (1st edition, 1953) were known by some of the UMS in Nigeria, the colonial habit was hard to see for what it was. The mission assumed that it had to take the initiative in raising up the indigenous church and admired the gradual approach to withdrawal they saw taking place in the British colonial government.⁸⁸ The mission still made decisions for the African Church: for example, in 1952 the field conference decided to introduce camp-meetings in every district, but said that the Africans would be “in charge,” and would bear the cost.⁸⁹ At the same time an extensive program of evangelism involving Nigerian pastors and evangelists was agreed upon by an all-missionary committee. During a review of a 1952 plan to open Girls’ schools in all the three language areas, the field Education Committee was directed to “draw proposals to the Committee over African Work, and that upon presentation we [recommend] that the Africans take the initiative”, which is a bit of a contradiction.⁹⁰ After the formation of the United Missionary Church of Africa (Constitution 1954, 1st Conference 1955, Government incorporation 1956), the UMS still had a key hold upon

ordination by forming the examining committee in the reading course before handing on the candidate to the African Conference.⁹¹

Money was of course important. As the mission reduced giving to the primary schools, congregations and pastors of the UMCA, the new institutions of the UMS more than took up the budget for Nigeria—not that money ever flooded: numerous requests from the field for people and programs had to be refused. In 1956 the General Board of the UMS hinted to the Nigerian field that the time had come to reduce the budgets:

Whereas commendable progress has been made in the establishment of the indigenous church in Nigeria, and whereas new fields are opening to us [eg Mexico in 1953 and Brazil, started in 1955]...[we] ask the Field to give the General Board a plan to speed up indigenizing.⁹²

In response, the field organized their budget to show that they were giving nothing to the UMCA by way of budgeted money for the schools (the primary school teachers were helped with government grants), and nothing to the churches, but “only” running the medical, literature, children’s educational and evangelistic programs of the missionaries, in addition to capital projects for Light of Life,⁹³ Hillcrest School, the theological college moving to Ilorin.⁹⁴ And there was still the tithe fund. Not unnaturally, Nigerian pastors complained that the missionaries seemed to have money for their own projects, but none for the church. It was not all for institutions, which McGavran warns sends signals to the churches that the churches and church-planting are not important as institutions, but even money for *missionary* evangelism could be so interpreted. Brenneman mentioned that the money spent on Light of Life was a target for a while, but claimed that when UMCA pastors were invited to get involved, and saw hundreds of people finishing the correspondence courses and claiming to have become Christians, their opposition dropped away.⁹⁵

The Lord was “owning his own Word.”

The field Superintendent in 1963 was confessing to another frustration, an “impasse,” he called it: the evangelism plan was for the mission plus Africans working together “each paying for each, but African Conferences don’t seem to have money, and don’t commit to new or many things. Mission used to pay all the bills, why not now?”⁹⁶ The present writer has heard many complaints that “the Mission” did not teach about giving, “tithes and offerings.” This receives partial support from Brenneman who admitted in 1978,

Self-support was initially discouraged, perhaps by default. Even poorly paid and frugally-living missionaries seemed like rich people. To suggest that new Christians begin contributing to the support of what had seemed like a missionary’s pet project was very illogical to the average native.⁹⁷

This same missionary wrote of discussion at the Yoruba District Conference in 1964 however, “Some of the discussions concerning the need of funds, however, seemed directed to the missionary representatives than to the need of preaching and practising tithing among the Christians.”⁹⁸

An example may be seen in the work of Willis Hunking, who led extensive and fruitful evangelistic meetings and pastors’ conferences throughout southern Nigeria which continued after 1964 under the banner of New Life For All (NFLA), a Nigerian version of the Latin America Mission’s saturation evangelism program also known as Evangelism in Depth, started by SIM and UMS personnel.⁹⁹ Unfortunately, Hunking was not often accompanied by UMCA preachers, nor, for the UMCA, did the campaigns and conferences lead to growth of the UMCA.¹⁰⁰ He had access to mission vehicles and contacts that the UMCA could not hope to continue.

The mission’s other institutions for “direct” evangelism – printing press, correspondence

school, school Christian instruction program, dispensaries and hospital – are not obviously necessary components of an indigenous church. Nevertheless, the Church should be ministering somehow in socially renovating ways. The state governments gradually took over administration of the primary schools. After the end of the civil war, oil production began to swell the income of the country and nationalization programs became popular. The government of the North West State,¹⁰¹ where most of the UMS institutions were, decided to remove Christian and missionary influence by taking over the Teacher Training College (TTC) in Mokwa,¹⁰² the secondary school the mission had just started in Magajiya¹⁰³ and buying up the Memorial Hospital in Magajiya. Government control of the hospital became effective 1 June 1975.¹⁰⁴ In retrospect, the UMCA was perhaps spared a tremendous financial burden, and in theory could turn to strengthening its theological and evangelistic ministries. At the same time, however, Christian community presence was reduced at the very time northern governments were deliberately increasing Islamic influences on the many people groups still practising traditional religion.¹⁰⁵

As missionaries began to leave Nigeria in the 1970s, and with money in hand from the government salaries of missionaries teaching in the education system, it was finally decided to sponsor some young men to study in the United States or Canada.¹⁰⁶ The issue had again been raised by the action of Ruby Wilson in 1971, who, just as Stella Lantz 45 years before, had already decided to sponsor James Tswana Harmon (b ca 1936) to study in Canada.¹⁰⁷ The UMS sponsored Jacob Bawa Salka, Joseph Dazi Senchi, Michael Fehintola Akangbe to various colleges in North America to a Master's level. Some later completed doctorates. Emmanuel Akinlawon and Peter O Isola found other sponsorships to Asbury College and Ashland College, respectively, about the same time.

Institutions

Niger Press, Liberty Press and the UMS Literature Committee

The Inter-Mission Conference at Lokoja in 1910 approved a plan for a union mission printing press. A W Banfield offered or was asked to operate the press, and in December 1910 a small upright press arrived at Tsonga.¹⁰⁸ Banfield bought new presses and equipment¹⁰⁹ until his new duties with the Bible Society, and the inability of Harold Pannabecker to operate the establishment, led him to sell the press to R V Bingham's Toronto-based Evangelical Publishers (in effect, to SIM) in 1918. It was moved to SIM's headquarters at Minna in January 1919, and in 1928 to their later headquarters in Jos.

Banfield had been an excellent manager of the printing establishment, training Nigerians as type-setters, printers and book binders. The Niger Press as the union press, served all the northern missions, not the MBiC Missionary Society alone. The Press enabled Banfield to print some of the Nupe Bible portions (New and Old Testaments) that the Nupe Literature Committee edited from Banfield's drafts, his two volume, 13,000-word English-Nupe and Nupe-English dictionary (1914, 1916), a book of 623 Nupe proverbs (1916), and his apologetic booklet *Why I am not a Mohammedan* (1925) in Nupe.

After the Niger Press, neither the MBiC MS nor UMS invested greatly in literature, since many of its pioneering efforts were among illiterate groups. They relied on the literature in Yoruba and Hausa produced by larger missions, as their translation efforts in the smaller language groups slowed down or stopped. In the case of the Nupe, numbers of Christians in the UMS (plus CMS and SIM-related Christians) who read Nupe remained relatively small for a long time, and was a factor in the British and Foreign Bible Society's delay to publish the whole Nupe Bible,

practically ready in the 1930s.¹¹⁰

At Jebba, the MBiC MS found a small market for Christian books among the English-speaking employees of the government and railway, and later in Nigerian languages as literature became available.¹¹¹ There was a UMS bookstore in Jebba until at least 1928. Literature for this shop was made possible by the expanding chain of bookshops under the CMS, revitalized since around 1910.¹¹²

After the Second World War, missions that had not paid much attention to literature began to notice nationalist, communist, Jehovah Witness and other literature in the hands of the people of their areas. Roy P Adams, a former Oriental Missionary Society missionary to China and UMS foreign secretary for 18 months 1952-1953 had urged the UMS to increase its literature ministry.¹¹³ In response, the Nigerian field commenced a literature committee to start buying equipment for duplicating materials, and producing 2000 primers in Bariba for the new station at Gurai.¹¹⁴ The next UMS foreign secretary from 1954, Richard Reilly, who had served about five and a half years in India, the latter two years seconded to Youth For Christ in Calcutta (Kolkata), had worked in cooperation with an organization called the Evangelistic Literature Depot, which had convinced him of the strategic importance of Christian literature.¹¹⁵ He recommended the Bible Correspondence courses developed by Dick Hillis of the Evangelical Alliance Mission (TEAM) in India to the attention of the Nigerian UMS missionaries, and the courses began to be offered in 1955.¹¹⁶ The Mission turned its attention to producing Sunday School materials, opening reading rooms (ones in Jebba and Yelwa are named), pastors began promoting the sale of Bibles and Christian literature and the mission itself operated a Book Van to help distribute stock.¹¹⁷

The volume of the correspondence courses became so great that it seemed worthwhile for the mission to begin printing with a press. Friends of Hilda and Wayne Brenneman in West Liberty, Ohio, donated \$5000 for an offset press in 1958,¹¹⁸ and a new UMS institution, eventually named Liberty Press, was housed in a specially built facility on the UMS Theological College campus. Nigerians were trained in aspects of the printing trade,¹¹⁹ and UMC members Ray and Marie Hawkins transferred from SIM to run the equipment around 1963. In the 1970s, when so many UMS staff returned to North America, the Press could not be staffed by the mission, and Timothy Oyinwola of Igbeti (d 2003), who apprenticed at the Press, bought the equipment. He operated a printing business in Ilorin and often did jobs for the UMCA.

Most of the items printed by Liberty Press were written by missionaries (eg Eileen Lageer, Don Hillis) or other Westerners, such as UMS President Quinton J Everest or Billy Graham, and translated into Yoruba, Hausa or Nupe. When the NLFA campaigns got underway, Liberty Press printed “large amounts of much needed literature.”¹²⁰ Literature written by Nigerians for Nigerians in the UMCA barely existed up to the 1978 handover. A principal of the Light of Life, later the first General Secretary of the UMCA, Rev Samuel Oloyede, wrote tracts and a history of his town, Igbeti, in Yoruba, but his effort seems unique previous to 1978.¹²¹ In this area, the Mission did not see much indigenization.

Schools, Dispensaries, Hospitals

By the 1955 formation of the UMCA, the whole elementary school programme of the UMS had become financed to a large extent by grants from the Nigerian government.¹²² By 1967, the mission expected all the primary schools to be administered by Nigerian local education authorities and staffed almost entirely by Nigerians.¹²³ Some of these teachers came out of

government Teacher Training schools, but many were graduates of the UMS Teacher Training College (TTC). The UMS TTC arose out of great desperation in the latter 1940s, when schools were demanded and expanding, and the UMS could not get teachers through such places as SIM's TTC in Kagoro or SUM's TTC in Gindiri. Myrtle Anderson, who was manager of UMS schools, reported "Need for a teacher Training School has become urgent this year. All efforts [she had written 140 letters concerning the schools in the year] to send students to other schools have failed...Beside we need trained teachers for our three schools."¹²⁴ Christians in Igbeti requested the mission to place a TTC in Igbeti, part of the Western Region, but the Western Region Ministry of Education refused, so the UMS turned to the Northern Region instead.¹²⁵ To qualify for government grants, teachers had to get training in specified curricula, replacing the apprenticeship method many northern missions followed.¹²⁶ As before, missionaries had to step in to satisfy the government requirements.¹²⁷ Nigerians qualified to teach in a TTC had to come from outside the UMS system: the mission just could not extend her educational programme that far. The field saw that expansion of the TTC "would automatically curtail personnel available for the expansion of evangelistic work" and so spent a long time considering the options.¹²⁸

Government policy and the receiving of government money led to further pressures to increase enrollment and to admit Muslims.¹²⁹ The Mission responded by a vigorous chapel program, hoping to retain the Christian influence on the student body and national education. As Traub wrote in 1965:

It could well be that in the very near future our only opportunity for influence in the schools may be through our training program and the Christian teachers who come through our college.¹³⁰

When 61 new students (added to a returning 24 students) were admitted in January 1962,

the TTC hired three Nigerians: Abe Sabbah, an American-educated Nupe, Michael O Adeleke, and a man probably from the Nigerian Mid-West State, a Mr Eyituwi.¹³¹ Not until 1968 could the field superintendent report that the goal of having a Nigerian as the Principal of the Teacher Training College had been met.¹³²

UMS dispensaries, eleven in 1956,¹³³ a feature of the Nigerian field since Ira Sherk arrived at Tsonga in 1907, were set up in the 1950s to be self-perpetuating by way of capital grants for stock, which in theory could continue by selling medicines at enough profit to restock themselves.¹³⁴ In the mid-1960s, the UMCA was in the process of taking over administration of the popular dispensaries.¹³⁵ The nurses training school in Tungan Magajiya could supply training for the dispensers of UMCA-operated dispensaries, but there was no salary from government or mission. It was a problem.¹³⁶ Even though the hospital was the only quality facility for hundreds of kilometres around, increased government medical standards pushed the hospital to either increase expensively its capacity or settle for training only in-house or lower-level staff.¹³⁷ Dr Bell had seen the need to train Nigerian Christian doctors early on,¹³⁸ but the problem was how to do so, and finance it, in a small medical system for the UMCA. It was a problem never solved, and although several indigenes even of Tungan Magajiya went on to qualify as medical doctors, they left Nigeria for more stable careers in the West, as thousands of Nigerian doctors have done.

The year Ross Bell arrived in Nigeria, the Field Conference addressed the indigenous custom of “female circumcision” and went on record “that we strongly teach against the practice.”¹³⁹

Light of Life and New Life For All

Mention has already been made of the Bible correspondence school called Light of Life

which was brought from India and begun in 1955.¹⁴⁰ By the time of the Nigerian Field Conference in that October, over 300 people had enrolled.¹⁴¹ The correspondence courses were translated into Yoruba, Hausa and Nupe, and caught a felt need in the literate population of Nigeria and even outside the country. The response was exhilarating to the missionaries involved as the numbers climbed.¹⁴² Inevitably, some of those enrolled did not continue, so that by October 1958, it was reported that there were 10,000 “currently active” in English courses, and 2834 in three Nigerian languages.¹⁴³

The Mission tried to respond personally to people who wrote inquiring about Christian salvation and tried to hold rallies for further teaching in centres,¹⁴⁴ such as the more literate south of Nigeria where many were enrolled, but the task got too much for the small staff that could be released for “follow-up”. Nevertheless, articles written in the *Missionary Banner* in this period often mention individuals known through the correspondence school.¹⁴⁵ Willis Hunking, A Raji, Ozro Traub, Harold and Anna Brown and others held evangelistic meetings throughout the south in the later 1950s and into the era of the civil war, but for UMCA church-planting, the effort was not obviously productive. There were too few Nigerians able or willing and interested in UMCA coming out of the theological school system to turn the good publicity about the Light of Life school and conversions into church communities, something perhaps inherent in the method or at least the curriculum itself.¹⁴⁶ On a follow-up journey to Akure, Wayne and Hilda Brenneman even told interested villagers that they were not from a church or going to start a church.¹⁴⁷

New Life For All began in the desperation of an SIM Bible College principal to do something that would speed up the growth of the Church in Northern Nigeria. The experiments of “Evangelism-in-Depth” to mobilize all the members of the Church in a country at a time by the

Latin America Mission, led by Kenneth Strachan, provided the root of a programme for Nigeria.¹⁴⁸ The plan gained the approval of ten missions and denominations when it was inaugurated in 1963 in Jos, (now capital of Plateau State).¹⁴⁹ The language of the planners stressed “indigenous” elements:

It was to be thoroughly indigenous. Missionary involvement would be minimal. The real work would be done by Nigerians and the control left in the hands of the local church. It was to be simple and inexpensive...It was to be a continuing movement...Even if the distinctive name died out, the leaders would be more than satisfied.¹⁵⁰

NLFA was made possible because in the central Middle Belt of Nigeria, the numbers of Christians had been rising steadily and even greatly already since the 1940s or 1950s as the many charts in the Church Growth study by Grimley and Robinson show.¹⁵¹ The movement began in the northern area of Nigeria and continues to some extent into the twenty-first century. In southern Nigeria, the movement was not adopted widely and did not achieve the “indigenous” or grassroots character the framers desired. It has largely died out. The Nigerian Civil War devastated the communities of the eastern region of Nigeria (“Biafra”), and after the war new agendas asserted themselves. During the civil war pentecostal and charismatic revivals among students in Scripture Union and other groups oriented to American charismatic teaching and practice, and with barely a memory of earlier evangelical and evangelistic movements in Nigeria, broke out and energized a generation of young Nigerian Christians working from the south of the country. Most were neither aware of, nor cared about the earlier efforts of village Christians in Middle Belt denominations to evangelize. In time many large new southern-based denominations grew out of the entrepreneurial ministries of the student revival. In numerous places student-based congregations appeared in Middle Belt towns and northern cities, often building on mission-

founded church communities.¹⁵²

There is a strong tradition of local church evangelism in UMCA churches that is traceable to the mobilization instilled by the NLFA campaign. Reports in *Missionary Banner* understandably stress the role played by UMS missionaries, after all, the magazine was their organ. However, the stimulus of the student revival, which reached the youth of the UMCA by the late 1970s, was also a stimulus to personal and group evangelistic preaching, and was not lost when opposition from UMCA elders to the “alien” charismatic practices and teaching led to splits in churches and a loss of zealous youth leaders to new ministries.

1. That malaria was caused by a parasite in the *Anopheles* genus of mosquitoes, was not proven until 1899. Other diseases are borne, for example, in the water (guinea worm, bilharzia) and by insects (dengue fever, elephantiasis). Whatever the source, Europeans knew that most of them could become seriously ill and many die in West Africa. Colonial governments and missions lost many European staff members. See reference to “The Whiteman’s Graveyard” in Andrew F Walls, “Missionary Vocation and the Ministry: The First Generation,” [reprint of an article from 1974] in O U Kalu, ed, *The History of Christianity in West Africa* (London: Longman Group, 1980), 35, n42.

2. J F Ade Ajayi, “Henry Venn and the Policy of Development,” [reprint of an article from 1959] in Kalu, 64. Roman Catholics had a source in Brazil.

3. The first one was founded in Lokoja in 1901 or 1902, Paul E Lovejoy and Jan S Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897-1936* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 83. It was moved to Zungeru later.

4. E A Ayandele, “The Missionary Factor in Northern Nigeria 1870-1918,” [reprint of an article of 1966] in Kalu, 146.

5. Ayandele, 151. Ayandele writes in this article with some contempt for things he dislikes, including Christian missions and northern Nigerian “backwardness”, written in the midst of Nigerian political tensions which led to coups and civil war. Some of his judgements on the failures of Christianity in northern Nigeria have not held up in the following generation, eg Bible translation coming to an end and church growth in the north. Both Hausa and Nupe Bibles have been re-translated and are selling well, the Hausa Bible especially sells 10s of thousands annually.

6. A W Banfield to Canada Conference, MBiC, January 1904, from Bida, *Conference Journal of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ...1904*, 52. After 45 years of limited witness in some Nupe towns, the English Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, the CMS, and the Roman Catholic White Fathers could not point to a single convert from Northern Nigeria according to Ayandele (Ayandele, 137).

7. Hausa: Liman; Nupe: “Nda Limung”: “father of the caller to prayer,” unfortunately a somewhat common name for efforts to identify him in later documents. The man dismissed in 1906 seems to be the language teacher of 1902.

8. Seth A Oshatoba, *SIM/ECWA: Voices and Statistics from the Past* (Jos, Nigeria: Self-published, 1994), 11, 5.

9. Cornelia W Pannabecker, “Diaries,” 1 December 1906.

10. Eg, Cornelia Pannabecker, “Diaries,” 6 May 1911; cf the list of dismissals in this thesis, below, n13.

11. The oldest copy of Annual Nigerian Field Conference minutes in the Storms Collection, is an incomplete carbon copy of the “2nd Annual Nigerian Board minutes”, the conference of February 27-? 1923. The field seems to have been reorganized at the founding of the UMS. Minutes for the 20th, 21st, and 22nd Field Conferences are missing from the file.

12. They were Sam Bello, John Jegede, Sam Makinde, Oyelayo, James Teacher, Yisa, Ajaji and [Jonathan] Awesu (see page 103). Unfortunately, many workers appear in the Field Conference minutes for disciplinary reasons: “after several years with no serious cases...one was dismissed” (1931); Bello, required to obey church rules about marriage (1933); Jegede on probation (1933, “dropped” 1936); Joseph Babatunde (dismissed 1937); Thomas Akano (probation with reduced pay, 1938); all in 1944: John Akande (dismissed), Joshua Alabi (advised to make a farm), John Akanni (suspended a year), Ogundeji (allowed back), Sam Daniels (caution in hiring him as a teacher), Dafidi (recognized as a native worker); Solomon Eyiolawi (dismissed 1946); Nda Madu and Obadiah Jogbodo (dismissed 1947). The minutes rarely report the hiring or reinstatement of a worker. Numbers of faithful workers are not even mentioned by name for decades, just as “native help,” such as Abel Kolawole (served 1923-1959, first named 1952!), Kibo Peni, Samuel Kayode (1962) and Philip Gujiya (1954), Dan Dodo Salka, Daniel Durojaiye, Andarawus Nama (1963). Daniel Olaleye Taylor’s name appears often, however, and always honourably (see below, p 115).

13. ANFC, 2nd, (1923), [Storms Collection, MCIA].

14. Glover, 186, quoting Horace G Underwood, *The Call of Korea* (1908), 5, 109-110. Nevius’ book *The Planting and Development of Missionary Churches* (1890) has been reprinted a number of times even at the centennial of its first publishing. Pennsylvania Conference missionary C F Snyder with the C&MA in China described efforts of his mission to implement self-support and self-propagation in China. He included examples of local self-government as well, C F Snyder, “Self-Support and Self-Propagation in Northwest China (Kansu Province)” *GB*, 3 November 1927, 10.

15. The UOMS had hired Armenian preachers and teachers from the start in 1898, but they benefited from the long Christian heritage of the nation and more recent Protestant missions in being able to find educated Armenian teachers. McGavran considered the Nevius method as a possible strategy that could work in some situations, but not others, especially fields with small receptivity and growth.

16. Lila M Darrell [pseudonym?], *Africa’s Challenge: Story of Jonathan Awesu, Missionary’s Servant Boy* (Np, [ca 1939]), 3. The book defends Stella P Lantz’ aims in selecting Awesu, apparently against some people in the mission. Lantz (189?-1965), later Mrs Paul Prentice, had been a mission worker in the Nebraska Conference 1915-1921. She formed an early maternalistic sympathy for Africans. The book was written after retiring from the Nigeria field and shows her impatience with some of her fellow missionaries’ lack of vision, (Darrell, 4). In 1927, the field leadership brought her to withdraw letters she had been writing inquiring about transferring to another mission, which she had done without resigning or discussion with the field leaders,

Nigerian Field Reference Committee (executive) minutes, 28 October 1927, Jebba, [Storms Collection, MCIA]. She later won approval for a separate mission station (Jebba Island IX). (Earlier in Nebraska she had worked alone at the mission in Omaha. Was this a pattern of her life? *GB*, 23 September 1920, 14.) When she left Nigeria in 1938, the station was soon closed and in 1940 Awesu was transferred to the mainland school (19th ANFC, January 1940, Jebba).

17. Darrell, 8.

18. *Ibid.*, 7-10. Awesu's father, Thomas Ojo, was a nominal Christian with an Anglican and African Church (an Anglican offshoot) background from Sagbe, now in Irepodun Local Government Area, Kwara State, near Share.

19. *Ibid.*, 9.

20. Wayne H Brenneman, "The Indigenization of the Missionary Church of Nigeria," Independent Study in lieu of Missions Course for MMiss, School of Christian Ministry, Huntington College, 1978 [47 pages]. Some of this paper was revised from his booklet, "A Church is Born!" (Share, Nigeria: 1955) written for the 50th jubilee of the mission in Nigeria, but which was never published.

21. *UMS Journal* (1940), 19. The Standing Rules were largely abolished in 1952-1953, including the rule forbidding supporting a Nigerian to study in North America. The "Standing Rules," created in imitation of Annual Conference standing rules, were amended from time to time, acting as the by-laws of the society in Nigeria.

22. 4th ANFC, 1924.

23. 5th ANFC, January 1926, Mokwa. Conversion, activity, Bible knowledge and the works of Christ, the evangelical four points are all here, plus the holiness "full change of heart."

24. John Fletcher College (founded as Central Holiness University in 1906) was in University Park, Iowa, and the Chicago Institute, merged with it in 1951, is now Vennard College, in Iowa; Charles Edwin Jones, *Guide to the Study of the Holiness Movement* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1974), 554, 563-564.

25. Eg, 17th ANFC (1938); Storms, *WGHW*, 41, Awesu was headmaster at Jebba at the time of Storms' 1948 book.

26. Brenneman, "Indigenization," 25.

27. Darrell, cover caption, and 35. A son, Dr Boaz O Awesu (MD), is a UMCA elder and partner in Ola Olu Hospital, Ilorin. Another son with a PhD taught geography at Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria.

28. Mary Paulus and Eileen Lageer, "Conference Chronicle," *MB*, January 1962, 4. *UMS Journal*, (1965), 43.

29. 23rd ANFC (1944), and personal communication, Willis J Hunking (served in UMS 1945-1971), September 2001. The money so collected was called "the tithe fund." SIM had a similar policy forbidding individual sponsorship, as illustrated in the life of Kathryn Dick, who resigned from SIM to raise a group of orphans in Nigeria sometime after 1950, sponsoring them all the way through to college in the United States and ministry back in Nigeria.

30. UMS General Board Minutes file, Storms Collection [MCIA].

31. *GB*, 12 May 1927, 12; and *GB*, 29 September 1927, 12. These articles do not make it clear what role Aduku had at Jebba.

32. Reversed in the 9th ANFC, January 1930, Jebba.

33. 6th ANFC, February 1927, Mokwa. W H Brenneman recognized the "dramatic appeal" to donors of giving to support "native workers", "Indigenization," 4.

34. 8th ANFC, April 1929, Share. One short course had been given already and was reported to have been "a blessing."

35. Isabelle Hollenbeck.

36. 9th ANFC, January 1930, Jebba.

37. 17th ANFC, January 1938, Mokwa; 19th ANFC, January 1940, Jebba; 24th ANFC, November, 1944.

38. 14th ANFC, February, Mokwa.

39. This holiness institute, now part of Taylor University, Indiana, was operated by the Missionary Church Association since 1904 and was a favourite school for young people of the MBiC, William C Ringenberg, "A Brief History of Fort Wayne Bible College," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 54:2 (April 1980) 135-155. Apart from a Bible Training School conducted by the Indiana-Ohio Conference in Elkhart 1900-1904, (in Goshen for the school year 1902-1903), the MBiC had no permanent educational institution in the United States until Bethel College was opened in Mishawaka, Indiana, in 1947 (Storms, *HUMC*, 193-196, 204).

40. Brenneman and his wife Hilda (Wayre) Brenneman wrote well over 100 articles for both *Gospel Banner* and *Missionary Banner* from 1947 to 1969. They supported indigenization from the start of their service in Nigeria.

41. Missionary medical course, National Bible Institute, New York City (1939?); Goshen College (BA, 1945 and BS Ed 1949); Indiana University (MS Ed, 1958), Ellis A Lageer, ed, *Who's Who*

(Elkhart, IN: Bethel Publishing, 1960, with additions to 1968), [not paginated].

42. Brenneman, "Indigenization," 4, 3. Some missionaries, including Ira Sherk, were still eating separately from Nigerians (personal communication, Willis Hunking, 27 February 2003) which could make sense in pioneering situations—around 1940 Kibo Peni used the fact that Paul Ummel brought along his own food as an example to the Lelna *gomo* (king) of Peni that the missionaries did not come to exploit them as the British colonial officers did, who got chickens to eat from the villages; interview, February 1997 with Danmallam Bata (born in Peni ca 1919). Among Christians, however, separate eating arrangements were a barrier between Westerners and Africans. This parallels the attitudes of BiC missionaries in southern Africa; Nancy Heisey, "Of Two Minds: Ambivalence in the Language of Brethren in Christ Missionaries. Part 1: Africa," *Brethren in Christ History and Life* 11:1 (April 1988) 10-43.

43. 23rd ANFC, February 1944, Jebba. No context in the minutes helps explain the need for this resolution, except this field conference created the common fund and discouraged missionaries (and others) from channelling gifts to individual Nigerian workers. The war, the escape of Annie Yeo from a torpedoed ship on the Atlantic and the deaths of Ummel and Brubacher all in the previous year, may be assumed to have encouraged thoughts of the future of the mission.

44. Brenneman, "Indigenization," 5.

45. 28th ANFC, October 1948, Share. The committee members were Ozro Traub, Earl Honsberger and Gordon Bolender.

46. "Report of the African Field Board [October 1949, Tungan Magajiya]," *UMS Journal*, (1950), 16. Persons appointed this time were Myrtle Anderson, Mrs [Phoebe] Ummel, Dr John Erb, Eldon Boettger and Betty Best.

47. *UMS Journal*, (1949), 23: "When the formation of an Annual Conference on the Mission field is requested, the request must indicate a suitable number of churches desirous to take this step."

48. George M Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism 1870-1925* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 82-83, 92. The pragmatic choice of a Banfield had become the theological choice of a generation who had passed through the fundamentalist-modernist debate, although the MBiC/ UMC had watched the debate from the sidelines.

49. *UMS Journal* (1949), 23.

50. Brenneman, "Indigenization," 11. The British colonial government had actually made the teaching of English illegal in the early decades of the twentieth century, 10. The Hausa Bible School was to begin in Salka, and a Nupe Bible School at Tsaragi, in January 1951. In 1952 an English Bible School was planned, to start at Igbeti, with the Yoruba school to move to Share, "32nd ANFC, October 1952, Tungan Magajiya," *UMS Journal*, (1953), 16.

51. *UMS Journal*, (1950), 10, 23; “30th African Field Board, October 1950, Share,” *UMS Journal*, (1951), 18, 20.

52. Alexander W Banfield, *Life Among the Nupe Tribe of West Africa* (Berlin, Canada: H S Hallman, 1905, additional pages, 1907), 81.

53. Cornelia W Pannabecker, “Diaries,” 31 December 1912, [Jebba] “Watch night service began 10.30 p.m. The church was filled right up. God help me to speak... We felt God’s presence. My heart ached for the people & was grieved to know some at least smelt of liquour [sic]... On being dismissed they started a song supposed to be Hallelujah but very unintelligable [sic] & sounded very irreverent & after getting outside lit matches & fire crackers & made a terrible rumpus. My heart ached. Oh that they might see themselves as sinners & hypocrites in God’s sight.”

54. Cornelia W Pannabecker, “Diaries,” 6 January 1911, “Wusa came read Acts 12. had prayer.” Also 8, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17 January. On the 18th, A W Banfield took Wusa and Mamudu to Mokwa.

55. *Ibid.*, 26 November-1 December 1906.

56. *Ibid.*, 20 December 1911; 23 June 1912.

57. Stella P Lantz, “On Vacation in Nigeria,” *GB*, 1 December 1927, 11.

58. Eg, 16th ANFC, January 1937, Mokwa, noted they still had no word concerning authority for ordaining.

59. Still existing in 1955, *UMS Journal* (1955), 54. The Board discussed the question of “the indigenous churches now set up in India and Nigeria, in relation to the general Conference of the United Missionary Church, and the question of the UMS to the UMC, which has never integrated the United Missionary Society into its program.”

60. Cf Stephen Neill, quoted in Wilbert R Shenk, “The “Great Century” Reconsidered,” in Wilbert R Shenk, ed, *Anabaptism and Mission* (Scottsdale, PA and Kitchener, ON: Herald Press, 1984), 175: “Protestant missionaries have gone out with the earnest desire to save souls for Christ, but with very little idea of what is to happen to the souls when they have been won.”

61. In the terms of William H Brackney, *Christian Voluntarism: Theology and Praxis* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B Eerdmans Publishing, 1997), 110-118, the MBiC was the “churchly” structure, semi-episcopal in form, while the UMS was more of a voluntary religious association.

62.

63. Stella P Lantz, “On Vacation in Nigeria,” *GB*, 1 December 1927, 11.

64. Lois K Fuller, ed, *Faith of Our Fathers: Life Stories of Some UMCA Elders* (Ilorin, Nigeria: World Partners, 1999), 7-12.

65. "Rev. D. O. Taylor," in Fuller, *Faith of Our Fathers*, 13-20. His wife's name is Dorcas.

66. 6th ANFC, February 1927, Mokwa.

67. The frequency is odd, when the strong custom in North American MBiC churches was to hold quarterly observations of the ordinances, requiring the presence of the Presiding Elder.

68. 12th ANFC, January 1933, Jebba.

69. 19th ANFC, January 1940, Jebba, reports his marks for four books examined.

70. Wayne H Brenneman, "A Church is Born!" (Mimeographed booklet, Share, Nigeria, 1955), chapter 2, 6. [MCIA]

71. "Nigerian Field Superintendent's Report," *UMS Journal* (1962), 81.

72. The writer was astonished to learn, as a new staff member in 1989 that after 16 years of offering BTh degrees, the Theological College had graduated fewer than six UMCA members with the degree, although many students graduated from other churches. The College depended for the majority of its student body on African-initiated churches, who had no degree-granting schools, on Idoma and Igala students from other small evangelical missions in the Northern Region, Baptists, SIM/ECWA students and later on the local diocese of the Anglican Church, whose first bishop, Haruna, liked the evangelical teaching of the College.

73. Brenneman, "A Church is Born!" chapter 2, 3. [MCIA] Cf the view of Emmanuel Akinlawon, UMS Theological College student ca 1970, that the issue of the salary of a local church pastor was "well-known." (Quoted in Brenneman, "Indigenization," 28, when he was a student at Asbury Seminary in 1978.) Although Dr Akinlawon worked with the UMS for a few years, he came from and returned to, the Methodist Church in Nigeria. His experience was not unique.

74. Eg W H Brenneman, "Yoruba Conference," *GB*, 22 October 1964, 13.

75. 25th ANFC, November 1945, Jebba. Brenneman, "A Church is Born!" chapter 2, 6, [MCIA] notes a second candidate fell into "sin."

76. 27th ANFC, October 1947, Igbeti, and "Rev. J. A. Amao," Fuller, *Faith of Our Fathers*, 64. Amao was from Babanloma, between Share/Tsaragi and Jebba.

77. "34th ANFC, October 1954, Share," *UMS Journal* (1955), 19, 32. The young men were David Olawoore Sunmanu, Paul A Taiwo, Simon Adeyemo Adedokun, Joseph A Adeyemi, Samuel Bodunde Zhiri and John Isa Kolo (the last two were Nupe). The shift to schools was happening in the North American church as well.

78. "Rev. P. A. Taiwo," Fuller, *Faith of Our Fathers*, 27-37.

79. *MB*, March 1961, 5. Taiwo (b ca 1919), Adedokun (b 1921) and Sunmanu (b 1920) were all from Igbeti. Joseph Adeyemi was from Share.

80. "41st ANFC, October 1961, [Ilorin]," *UMS Journal* (1962), 51; "43rd ANFC, October 1963, Ilorin," *UMS Journal* (1964), 75.

81. *MB*, March 1966, 9. He joined, among others, the Nupe Rev Samuel B Zhiri (who later turned to Islam), the Rev Emmanuel Kunu (ordained 1965), a native of Sapele, a city of the Urhobo and Itsekiri people now in the southern state of Delta (see above, p 91, on the loss of this young district in 1967 in the civil war); and David Sunmanu (1920-1996), who succeeded D O Taylor as superintendent of the Yoruba district in 1967.

82. A world-view fear of the curse connected with "eating the Lord's body unworthily" (I Corinthians 11:27) as commonly understood, has also kept back many believers from enjoying the benefits of the Eucharist.

83. Brenneman, "Indigenization," 2, in defining "indigenization" in 1978, simply quoted a Webster's dictionary and T Stanley Soltau, *Missions at the Crossroads* (Wheaton, IL: Van Kampen Press, 1954). Soltau's books reflected the evangelical mainstream of mid-twentieth century missions. Brenneman organized his essay around these three "three-selves." In the field, Assemblies of God missions leader Melvin J Hodges' books about *The Indigenous Church* have been influential in evangelical missions, Pentecostal or not. Cf Donald A McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B Eerdmans Publishing, 1970), 3.

84. After 14 years of operating with a mission-created "indigenous church" structure in India, UMS field leader John Hamilton wrote, "Complete indigenization of the E[ast] I[ndia] C[onference] is the ideal goal. But it is a goal that seems to be receding at a much faster rate than we are approaching it." *MB*, June 1966, 5. Compare the tortuously drawn out effort of Canadian Baptists to achieve self-support of Baptist Conventions in India, Orville E Daniel, *Moving with the Times: The Story of Baptist Outreach from Canada...1874-1974* (Toronto: Canadian Baptist Overseas Mission Board, 1973), 108-109, 224-236, 241-244. The BiC still support the India Brethren in Christ Orissa and North Bihar churches in 2003 to a large extent (Personal communication, John Sider, 12 April 2003).

85. Cf Stephen Neill's strictures in *A History of Christian Missions* 2nd ed revised by Owen Chadwick (London: Penguin Books, 1986), 221. The Three-Self Patriotic Movement in China was a Communist Party Trojan horse.

86. The literature is vast. For a brief survey, see David J Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), 420-432. The present writer believes Christian communities have always been contextualizing the gospel of Jesus, the only question is how well it is being done with respect to the gospel. Each age judges the others differently. Roman Catholics prefer the term "inculturation," but they come close to the same

idea.

87. Allen's *Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?* was a text at the first Missionary Internship (Farmington, MI) session involving UMC missionaries, John and Joy (Srigley) Hamilton, and where he first learned of indigenous principles (1957), Personal communication, 28 March, 2003. New BiC missionaries to Zambia in 1952 Pat and Frank Kipe, were given a copy of Hodges' *The Indigenous Church* as their introduction to indigenous principles, (Kipe, 145).

88. Brenneman, "Indigenization," 7. Cf missionary approval in BiC Africa fields of gradual transition, Kipe, 154-156. Gradual indigenization was criticized in O U Kalu, "Church, Mission and Moratorium," [reprint of a 1975 article] in Kalu, 365-374.

89. "32nd ANFC, October 1952, Tungan Magajiya," *UMS Journal* (1953), 17.

90. "33rd ANFC, October 1953, Tungan Magajiya," *UMS Journal* (1954), 27.

91. "41st ANFC, October 1961, [Ilorin]," *UMS Journal* (1962), 51; "43rd ANFC, October 1963, Ilorin," *UMS Journal* (1964), 75. In 1958 the examination for the reading course was assigned to the Theological College – staffed almost entirely by foreign missionaries until the 1970s.

92. *UMS Journal* (1956), 23.

93. See next section. The literature and Light of Life programs had actually been urged by the Foreign Secretary, Richard Reilly a few years previously!

94. *UMS Journal* (1957), 18.

95. Wayne H Brenneman, "Our Mission Literature Program and the Indigenous Church," (1960), 4.

96. O L Traub, "Nigeria Field Superintendent's Report," *UMS Journal* (1963), 27-28.

97. Brenneman, "Indigenization," 4.

98. Wayne H Brenneman, *GB*, 22 October 1964, 13.

99. Eileen Lageer, *New Life For All* (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1969/ Chicago: Moody Press, 1970), 26-28. The book is the anecdotal account of "NLFA" progress to that date, almost entirely in northern Nigeria. The Nigerian civil war was raging in the south-east from 1967 to 1970.

100. Eg, Willis J Hunking, "New Life For All!" *GB*, 16 June 1966, 9, reports his meetings in conjunction with Rev Moses Ariye, an excellent evangelist of ECWA, in Lagos. The report also mentions meetings in all nine churches in Jebba (no more than three would be UMCA) and in villages around Jebba, classes held by UMS missionaries, not Nigerians.

101. Now divided into four states: Niger, Kebbi (the two states where the majority of UMCA congregations function), Zamfara and Sokoto.

102. 1973. The Christian customs and staff of the UMCA Teacher Training College, Mokwa, St Paul's College, Zaria (Anglican), and St John's College, Kaduna (Roman Catholic) were displaced by an islamizing policy of name changes, neglecting to schedule government approved Bible Knowledge courses and disrupting of Christian student activities, Jacob Tsado and Danjuma Byang, "Educational Crises in Nigeria: Unexplored Dimensions," *Today's Challenge* 1988:4, 4-8. This ECWA magazine was the successor to SIM's *Africa Challenge*.

103. Built with government money in 1969-70 at Magajiya, *Emphasis*, 1 September 1970, 10.

104. Eileen Lageer, *Merging Streams: Story of the Missionary Church* (Elkhart, IN: Bethel Publishing, 1979), 194. Faced with government promises that more and more health care would be free, yet requiring that hospital staff be paid more, the UMS medical board decided to get out of the way before the storm. In contrast, the Methodist Wesley Guild Hospital in Ilesha facing the same impossible conditions endured the humiliation of staff riots and the founding missionary doctors having to flee over fences to safety before selling off to the government. The effect on the hospital in Magajiya of government neglect has been to leave it a shell of rusting empty wards with dispirited staff—leading founding doctors and nurses to weep when returning for visits to the church. Halima Danmallam Fuller, "Fifty Years of Christian Experience in Rijau Local Government, Niger State, 1947-1997," M.A Thesis for Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1997.

105. "Animism" is politically incorrect in Nigerian university departments of religion, under the influence of the generation of scholars reacting to western dominance, such as Bolaji E Idowu. "Afrél" (African Religion) was suggested for a while. "Folk religion" is another possible term, supported by Paul G Hiebert, R Daniel Shaw and Tite Tienou, *Understanding Folk Religion: A Christian Response to Popular Beliefs and Practices* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1999). Cf page 17, where they point out that without straining, biblical Christianity could be described properly as animistic, because of its belief in a realm of spirits and spiritual forces.

106. Brenneman, "Indigenization," 25-26.

107. "Rev. Dr. J. T. Harman," in Fuller, *Faith of Our Fathers*, 94. Wilson had been sponsoring Harmon's career off and on since 1950. Ibrahim Isa, another Nupe, had earned a scholarship provided by Bethel College in 1970 but his study was biology; *Emphasis*, 15 January 1974, 14-15.

108. It is not clear who owned the press; A W Banfield was allowed to charge 25% above cost, and appears to have negotiated the sale of the press to Evangelical Publishers himself, almost as if it were his commercial establishment. A good account is in Albert D Helser, *Africa's Bible: The Power of God unto Salvation* (Toronto: SIM, 1951), 50-53.

109. Turaki, 346-348.

110. Ira W Sherk to Rev A H Wilkinson, 10 September 1946, from Kitchener, Ontario. [Personnel files, Storms Collection, MCIA]

111. It is not clear whether this was a private ministry of missionaries in Jebba or a mission project. Cornelia Pannabecker maintained the book cupboard at times she served in Jebba, "Diaries," 14 January 1911, "Had good sale of books"; 27 January 1911: "Went to the station to sign for my [two boxes of] books." And so on throughout the whole year. References to the bookshop in 1927 and 1928 appear in the Annual Nigerian Field Conference minutes.

112. Gordon Hewitt, *The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society 1910-1942*, Vol 1: *In Tropical Africa, The Middle East, At Home* (London: SCM Press, 1971), 58.

113. *UMS Journal* (1952), 27. The Oriental Missionary Society, now OMS International, had begun as a mission for literature distribution and training of literate Christians in the more literate Far East. By the time Adams made his recommendations, there were increasing numbers of Nigerians reading.

114. "ANFC October 1953," *UMS Journal* (1954), 27.

115. For a time directed by UMS missionary Weyburn Johnson, on loan to the Depot.

116. Wayne Brenneman, "Our Literature Program and the Indigenous Church," 2, (article dated April 1960, appended to Idem, "Indigenization.")

117. Wayne H Brenneman, "News from the Literature Office in Jebba, Nigeria," *GB*, 13 August 1959, 9. These distribution programs suffered whenever foreign staff were unavailable—as in 1966, when Art and Gladys Reifel went on furlough (L Russell Sloat, "[Acting] Nigerian Field Superintendent Report," *UMS Journal* (1966), 26.

118. Wayne H Brenneman, "Prayer—Peppermints—and a Printing Press," *GB*, 14 March 1963, 6-7,9. Hilda's parents served an independent church for some years in West Liberty, Ohio.

119. Sunday Komolafe, "41st ANFC, October 1961, [Ilorin]," *UMS Journal* (1962), 51, is the only one named in the field minutes. The press was first set up at Niger-Challenge Press in Lagos because no one in the UMS knew how to operate the machine.

120. L Russell Sloat, "Nigerian Field Superintendent Report," *UMS Journal* (1967), 26.

121. George Schroeder, "A Tribute to a Friend," *Emphasis*, October 1984, 21.

122. Nigeria Executive Council, "Statement of Policy in Nigeria," *GB*, 20 June 1957, 8.

123. Mrs Allan [Dorine Gooding] Doner, "With Our Nigerian Schools," *MB*, October 1956, 8, [Allan] Doner, "Straight for English," *MB*, September 1966, 5.

124. 25th ANFC, November 1945, Jebba. The headmaster at Igbeti, Amos Ajani, was from the Baptist area of Ogbomosho, for example. The three schools were in Zuru, Jebba and Igbeti. There had been an earlier school in Mokwa as well. These three were to be joined by many more in the following decades: a total of 17 in 1962 (“42nd ANFC, October 1962, Ilorin,” *UMS Journal* (1963), 85). Every station had had its basic literacy classes, called Christian Religious Instruction classes by the government, or CRIs. The colonial governments used them, ignored them, tolerated them, outlawed them as policies shifted. See eg, Turaki, 277-281.

125. Oloyede, 76.

126. See Turaki, 288-289.

127. Begun at Jebba in 1946, it moved to Igbeti in 1947 until 1956, when at the demand of the Northern Region government, it was transferred to a permanent site at Mokwa. To many in Igbeti, it seemed “the Mission” took away “their” TTC. The Igbeti people were disappointed, but used the buildings to start the first UMCA secondary school themselves, not under the UMS, Oloyede, 78. Another discussion about opening a new TTC in Igbeti was tabled in the 42nd Annual Nigerian Field Conference of 1962 (*UMS Journal* (1963), 75). There was an imaginative request by the field conference in 1951 that the Superintendent apply to open the school at Apado, Ilorin Province, where there had been a UMS outstation since 1933. This was almost central to Igbeti, Jebba, Ilorin and Share, but no further action is recorded, probably due to the lack of mission infrastructure there, “31st ANFC, October 1951, Share,” *UMS Journal* (1952), 17.

128. “41st ANFC, October 1961, [Ilorin],” *UMS Journal* (1962), 49.

129. “34th ANFC, October 1954, Share,” *UMS Journal* (1954), 20-21.

130. O L Traub, “Nigeria Field Superintendent Report,” *UMS Journal* (1965), 31.

131. Robert Cheesmur, “Revival at T.T.C.,” *MB*, November 1964, 10, named the ten staff then teaching at Mokwa. Two were Nigerian (Michael Adeleke and Titus Ajibola).

132. L Russell Sloat, “Nigeria Field Superintendent Report,” *UMS Journal* (1968), 27. The principal was Dr David Kolawole, who served a few years before moving on to Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria, the first university in the Northern Region which included Kwara. Dr Kolawole later became one of the national trustees of the UMCA.

133. *MB*, December 1956, 10. Lageer, *Merging Streams*, 193, reports 14 UMS primary schools in 1955.

134. “Statement of Policy in Nigeria,” *GB*, 20 June 1957, 8.

135. In early 1965 it was reported that the Yoruba Conference had completed the handover, the Northern (“Arewa” Conference) was part way through and plans for the Nupe Conference to take them over underway; *MB*, March 1965, 10.

136. Doris Ummel and Eileen Lageer, "The Conference Chronicle," *MB*, December 1958, 5.

137. Bell, 72.

138. *UMS Journal* (1964), 41.

139. 28th ANFC, October 1948, Share. The practice continues, according to a Christian Ethics class the writer taught in the early 1990s in Ilorin. Students from northern as well as southern Nigeria participated in the course. In some communities it has religious sanction, although world-view seems to sustain the custom, rather than formal religious beliefs, cf April A Gordon and Donald L Gordon, ed, *Understanding Contemporary Africa* 3rd ed, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001), 287-288. Hiebert, Shaw and Tienou, 297. Cf J Sorie Conteh, "Circumcision and Secret Societies," in Ali A Mazrui and Toby Kleban Levine, ed, *The Africans: A Reader* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1986), 223-226 [reprint from an article in *West Africa* (1980)].

140. Light of Life programmes were operated by 14 missions world-wide in 1962, *MB*, December 1962, 2.

141. Wayne H Brenneman, "Golden Jubilee Conference Held in Nigeria," *GB*, 1 December 1955, 13. This first offering was a course, in English, on the Gospel of John. 100 girls in a school in "the south" were among them, *MB*, December 1955, 14.

142. 740 enrolled (73 completed) by mid-1956, 5,837 enrolled by January 1957, over 7300 by March (nearly 1600 completions), and 16,000 enrolled for the initial course on the Gospel of John alone (4500 completions) by October 1957 plus 1000 others studying Acts, and over 4100 in Nigerian language courses. By 1979, 185,000 names had been enrolled (*Emphasis*, 1 October 1979, 15).

143. Doris Ummel and Eileen Lageer, "The Conference Chronicle," *MB*, December 1958, 5.

144. An early one was held at the Theological College in Ilorin, in September 1961. Sixteen attended, who had finished 3 courses; Mary Paulus and Eileen Lageer, "Conference Chronicle," *MB*, January 1962, 5. Wayne H Brenneman, "Our Mission Literature Program and the Indigenous Church," (April 1960), 3, [MCIA] said three missionary couples had been giving part-time attention to follow-up in rented halls in southern Nigerian cities and touring with the Light of Life book van. Paulus and Lageer said the Theological College meeting was a first, but do not say how it differed from the meetings Brenneman describes.

145. Eg contacts in the large city of Oshogbo led to meetings in schools by W Hunking and E Boettger, *MB*, September 1962, 11.

146. The Light of Life program in India has run a similar course: tremendous numbers of Muslims and Hindus, smaller numbers attending regional rallies and camps longer than a day, smaller still numbers of conversions and baptisms and a few congregations among the people group (Bodo) of the current principal. The Calcutta Bible Institute, started in November 1956 by Alfred W Rees

and Pronoy Sarkar has an accumulated list of around 500,000 students, 95% with a Hindu background. They baptize 7-15 converts per year. For some who become pastors in the India United Missionary Church, the Bible Institute and its cycle of training is the only instruction they obtain; interview with Rev Joren Basumata, principal of Calcutta Bible Institute (which operates the Light of Life courses and follow-up program of the India UMC), 21 July 2002, Langley, BC. Basumata was also chair of the India Mennonite Service Fellowship, of which the India UMC has always been a member. Cf Joy Hamilton, "Calcutta Bible Institute," *MB*, March 1963, 10.

147. Wayne H Brenneman, "Never on Sunday?" *Emphasis*, 15 January 1972, 7-8.

148. Evangelism-in-Depth was an evolving programme, as the Latin America Mission tried to learn from experience and admitted failures. Sometimes a lot of activity did not produce church growth as hoped. The plan itself was critiqued, eg George W Peters, *Saturation Evangelism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Corporation, 1970). Total mobilization campaigns have been tried out under different names, especially leading up to the year AD 2000. The organization called "Disciple A Whole Nation" (DAWN) is currently encouraging such movements.

149. Eileen E Lageer, *New Life For All* (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1969), 9-11. The SIM principal of Kagoro Bible College was Jerry Swank.

150. *Ibid.*, 13.

151. John B Grimley and Gordon E Robinson, *Church Growth in Central and Southern Nigeria* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B Eerdmans Publishing, 1966), for ECWA: 93, for SUM-related churches: pages 99-122. Cf also those in C P T Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria* 3rd ed. (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1979) a decade later.

152. Studied by, eg Matthew A Ojo, "The 1970 Charismatic Revival in Nigeria," *Thelia* 3:2 (1990) 4-10. Ojo taught Church history at Obafemi Awolowo University in Ile-Ife, Nigeria.

CHAPTER 5

GROWTH OF A CHURCH TO 1978

If Only Statistics Could Talk

This whimsical title stresses that statistics of church membership and the related activities need context and interpretation to mean anything. An attempt has been made in the previous chapters to provide the story and the context by which mission statistics of the MBiC MS and the UMS can be interpreted.

This chapter looks at the relative size and rate of growth of the UMS-related Nigerian church, problems encountered in assembling useful diachronic and synchronic statistics, and offers a tentative interpretation of the growth pattern. It will be noted why the UMCA today has a presence or “footprint” in Nigeria that partially reflects the distribution of UMS mission stations, emphasized by “people movement” conversion patterns that occurred in some areas. The chapter notes how field leadership tried to evangelize all the people groups in their chosen area, administer the resulting church, while dealing with frustrating circumstances related to lack of finances and personnel, and the number of languages and cultures. The Mission’s efforts to provide Scriptures, meaningful worship, and encourage fellowship with other Nigerian Churches and to set patterns in relation to other Nigerian religions will also be reviewed briefly as indications of an implicit theological heritage handed to the UMCA.

In common with numbers of evangelical Protestant mission societies, denominational or

interdenominational in northern Nigeria, conversions to the Christian faith occurred only after several years of contact between the missionary agents and the African community, when communication and trust had been built. Given the complex nature of communication across cultures, it is surprising that various commentators, Christian, Muslim, Marxist and nationalist would describe the pace of conversions in the first generation using such words as “few,” “disappointing,” “meagre,” implying that something greater ought to be expected. Islam took several centuries of contact for Islamic communities to appear in West Africa.¹

In 1966, Grimley and Robinson excused the “small” growth of the UMS/ UMCA by suggesting the mission and church were working among Islamized people.² It is true that for the Nupe in Tsonga, the town with a Hausa-Fulani emir, Islam was the “court” religion. In neighbouring Patigi emirate, with an indigenous Nupe ruling family, the two ECWA congregations had about 600 Nupes attending in the 1990s, although not all would be from the town families.³ The town people of Yelwa, another Fulani-Hausa emirate, were greatly Islamized and “Hausaizing,” but in the numerous villages surrounding these towns, traditional religion was still practised.⁴ The people of Igbeti, Salka, Zuru, Share and Tsaragi, Agwara, Gurai, Shabanda, were overwhelmingly followers of traditional religion. At Mokwa, one of the standard sights for western visitors was to be shown the sacred crocodile waterhole in a stream near the town where many women would go for water.⁵ Another sacred crocodile colony in a sacred grove called Girmache about 4 kilometres west of Zuru flourishes to this day. The writer remembers talking with Daniel, the UMCA pastor in Dabai, the traditional chief town of the Lelna, 10 kilometres north of Zuru, in 1990. When asked how many Muslims and Christians there might be in the town of about two to three thousand, the pastor said there were about 70 in the church (started in

1943), and apart from one family whose house he pointed out, the other Muslim family was that of the paramount chief, who, he said, had to be a Muslim or he would not get his position. The chief's mosque in the open space before his compound, was made of grass and corn stalk. All the rest of the townspeople were observers of traditional religion. This was ten kilometres from Zuru, a city of about twenty to thirty thousand where Hausa Muslim mallams (teachers) had been promoting Islam with success for fifty years, and where the *gomo* (king) of the Lelna has been transformed, first by the British, then by the Sokoto Caliphate, into a Muslim emir (although the Lelna were never conquered by the jihad of Usman Dan Fodio or its offshoots).⁶

A serious complication for interpreting statistics is that the missions, MBiC MS and its continuation the UMS, did not keep or publish consistent statistics directly related to church growth such as yearly conversions,⁷ baptisms, memberships, transfers or attendance at the main weekly worship meetings. The missionaries kept careful financial records, and when schools were conducted, the numbers of pupils registered and attending were often kept. Cornelia Pannabecker kept track of all her visits, distinguished from mere "calls" that she made per month.⁸ In 1917 she sent a record of 6 months of attendances (accumulative) and visits to the MBiC MS treasurer C N Good saying, "I do not know if anyone else ever tho't of keeping a record of this kind but I think it would be a good thing if the Board would ask it of the missionaries."⁹ The obvious implication is that the mission did not ask regular statistics of this sort from its missionaries. Some years an annual accumulated attendance in all types of meetings lead by missionaries and "native help" were published,¹⁰ just as the hospital would report the annual number of medical treatments. So far as the writer has seen, stations and pastors were at times required to provide quarterly reports,¹¹ but little or no use of the reports were made in the public record of the mission. This is

strange, given the detailed attendance and membership records kept by the pastors of all the conferences, appointments, circuits and missions in North America. Ira Sherk, the superintendent, in deputation notes for 1938, was able to tell how many missionaries, stations, outstations, native workers and language-groups the mission was working among, but made no mention of baptized believers, people under instruction for baptism, attendance or conversions.¹² It is hard to resist the suggestion by Donald McGavran that missions that had few converts to show emphasized the “work” they were doing, and passed by the painful fact that few people were coming to Christian faith.¹³ This is not said to belittle the efforts of the mission to evangelize.

A further difficulty in interpreting the few statistics available, is that the various cultural groups were not distinguished in reports, so that comparative responses might be analysed. Although very much alive to the different languages they had to contend with, the missionaries’ tendency was to view all the people as “Africans” and not distinguish responsive and less responsive groups. Promotional and devotional stories in the magazines did not ask why certain individuals were or were not coming to Christian faith, selecting often to write about the dramatic for the home constituency: the dying, the extreme, or the exotic (many articles about the few Fulani or Muslim *mallams* who showed any interest), when the ordinary route of conversion involved daily contact of missionary or Nigerian preacher with students in the classroom, or in the station routine. Seldom was the question asked if there were any cultural reasons why the Yoruba town of Igbeti had 600 to 750 people attending by 1946,¹⁴ when Salka had a few dozen, after almost equal years of preaching and missionary staff involvement.

A few observations can be made about the statistics and graphs following Table 1, appended to this study. The statistics recorded suffer from variations in definition in the sources

throughout the whole century. For example, mission stations and outstations, organized congregations and unorganized groups are put together to get an idea of the extent of weekly teaching and worshipping under the MBiC MS, the UMS and the UMCA. Only tentative interpretation of trends in the overall data can be made at this time.

There is no discernible immediate effect on either numbers of UMCA congregations or baptized membership by either the creation of the UMCA in 1955, or the Light of Life correspondence school's thousands of enrollees. There is a noticeable rise in the rate of church planting and baptized membership from the middle of the 1960s, however, when both NLFA and the Christian Life classes were strong programmes. Joseph Dazi connected the NLFA with UMCA growth in an article in 1972.¹⁵ This is the post-independence era in Nigeria nationally, and the time of the civil war. The 1970s saw the rapid dwindling of UMS personnel numbers leading up to the handover (1978) of government and property to a new UMCA structure and the diminishing of the Christian Life classes and New Life For All as programmes. The handover is also not visibly discernible in the data; the church was growing about equally fast before and after that date, if the round figure of baptized reported in 1981, which stands out beyond the rest, is set aside as a guess. The writer believes that if anything, the UMCA under-reported its number of congregations and preaching points or "branches" in the period 1978 to 1994, when the writer made his first survey of UMCA congregations. The UMCA was probably enjoying a benefit of the post-civil war revival and the swelling of the children of first generation believers into the Church, rather than any particular program. However, increased church planting was probably a necessary component of the growth of the denomination.¹⁶

McGavran's School of World Mission brought attention to the way many societies make

decisions, not individualistically as in extreme societies such as North America, but as individuals linked in units such as age groups, families, clans, villages or castes. Nigerians the UMS preached to tended to decide major issues in conjunction with their affinity groups. In a few cases the mission experienced growth through what it called at the time, revivals or awakenings, but better named as people movements. In the cases of Zuru (1933-1938) and Salka (1975 to the present), the results were dramatic. North Americans of the UMC were used to people converting one or two at a time, or perhaps at most a man and his young family.

People Groups and Districts

The boundaries of Nigeria enclose territory of over 470 ethno-linguistic groups recognized by the incomplete surveys by linguists collected in Summer Institute of Linguistics' *Ethnologue*.¹⁷ One often still reads of the "250 tribes" in Nigeria. By whatever linguistic or cultural measures one adopts, Nigeria has one of the largest densities of different people groups in Africa, and even the world. British colonial anthropological surveys uncovered this diversity to a great extent.¹⁸ Although not extreme for Nigeria, Niger State, as investigated by Calvary Ministries' CAPRO Research Office contains 20 indigenous ethnic groups, some of which are clusters whose sub-groups speak dialects diverse enough to qualify as separate languages. Kebbi State comprises nine people groups in addition to some of the massive Hausa cluster of peoples. Kwara State, on the edge of the Yoruba kingdoms, has less diversity, about three (Yoruba in three or more sub groups, Nupe and Bariba). Christian missions had to face this diversity.

The MBiC Mission, followed by the UMS, sited all of its missions stations in these three modern states of Nigeria,¹⁹ except for Igbeti, just across the western border in Oyo State from Kwara. The intention of the Mission was to evangelize people of northern Nigeria. Alexander W

Banfield and Ira W Sherk participated in whatever inter-mission conferences were ever organized in the northern provinces, and Russell Sloat and O L Traub continued relations to the succeeding bodies. Despite rivalries with the Southern Baptists to the south and west, and SIM to the east and north, the UMS respected comity agreements made formally or informally through the conference of missions.²⁰ The mission did not want to become hemmed in too severely by other missions as it spread southward, but even more, northward from its first base at Tsonga.

Constantly, the missionaries wrote of the many tribes and numbers of people still “unreached” in “their” area of responsibility. Anthony, Banfield and the MBiC MS would not have known it at first, but their chosen section of northern Nigeria contained some of the most severely depopulated regions, made so by slave raiding by the Yorubas, Nupes and then the Hausa-Fulani of Kontagora. The colonial government reckoned that Kontagora Province, the heart of the UMS mission area, contained no more than 187,000 people in 1925, the smallest total and density in Northern Nigeria’s twelve colonial provinces.²¹ Some of the missionaries’ talk was promotional, designed to encourage volunteers, prayer and money, which is nothing strange, but from the indications, the urgency of preaching to “precious dying souls” was genuinely felt by most in the evangelical and holiness mission. They felt Christ was coming soon, and they would need to give an account of their “stewardship.” After the Second World War, the pressures were more openly political: as independence of the colonies, communism (the example of Eastern Europe, but especially China was mentioned frequently), and Islamic assertion of power, all raised a sense of “we don’t know how long we have left.” It was a constant frustration that neither they nor the church in North America could raise either the recruits or the money to help the Mission “advance”, even after the great increase in mission staff after the Second World War. They

remained a small missionary force compared to their neighbours, often joking that SIM was their “big brother” in Nigeria.

The result of the number of people groups was that the UMS staff were for convenience divided into a “down country” group which used Yoruba or Nupe, and an “up country” group which learned Hausa as the trade language, even though the pioneers all recognized that Hausa was not understood by most of the people in the groups they were assigned. Joseph Ummel, Russell Sloat, Norman and Grace Durkee at Salka all recognized this, as did Paul and Pheobe Ummel in Zuru,²² and those changing group of staff who were assigned to Yelwa, Agwara and Shabanda. Esther Cressman and Donna Skitch became convinced through nursing contacts and assisting the recordings of scripture messages by Gospel Recordings²³ that the Dukawa around Rijau and Tungan Magajiya were not being served by Hausa preaching and Hausa Scriptures.²⁴ At Gurai, none of the main languages used in the mission, Hausa, Nupe or Yoruba, helped much for local preaching to the Bariba.²⁵ At the hospital in Magajiya, where many Fulani cattle people came for treatment, a Fulani pastor called Kenya and two Fulani believers worked to get closer to their kin for a while in the 1960s.²⁶ It was possible at mid-century in the northern area to use Hausa in the institutions, where most of the personnel increasingly had to be assigned. To allow too many staff to become specialized in a local language would have made the continually necessary transfers extremely awkward.²⁷

In the end the mission settled for administrative convenience into three language and ethnic divisions in the mission, which they organized in the 1950s as three church Conferences: Yoruba, Nupe and Hausa. The last linguistic grouping, it will be remembered, had practically no Hausa people in the membership ever, and was simply useful because the second language was

increasingly used by the government, markets and the mission. This led to non-geographic units being supervised, first by the mission and then by the UMCA Conferences, so that churches in towns with two or three congregations could have two or three Conferences administering congregations. This has never been rationalized and has led to some of the severest tensions in the UMCA today, even with the multiplication of church districts in the UMCA to 17.²⁸

The mission waited 8 years before the first professions of faith in Zuru in 1933. Despite the missionaries' steady market preaching and enough community interest in Zuru for its help to construct a church building, few Lelna listened to the missionaries seriously until they could speak C'Lela well. By then the implications for Lelna traditional life were seen and rejected by many in the community. However, after exposure to Europeans in Lagos and learning to read and write from Paul and Phoebe (Brenneman) Ummel in Zuru for two years, twins Sakaba and Zomi Rokoto finally trusted the foreigners' message.²⁹ These two men were already well into the years of bride-service (C'Lela: *golmo*) for their fathers-in-law and so in little danger of going without a wife.³⁰ The others who repented at the missionaries' appeals were yet to begin, little more than ten or twelve years old. These were "houseboys" who worked around the mission compound, who had daily contact with the *Bature* (white people, including Arabs).³¹ A small people movement began which continued until at least 1938.

Thereafter, with frequent itineration by the missionaries, the Rikoto brothers and Gujiya, other villages were contacted and a cluster of chapels built supervised by Elgin Brubacher by 1943. The new congregations benefited from the leadership of discharged soldiers with new ambitions for their communities, especially after the Second World War.³² Ahmadu Peni, Mai Kyau Peni, Sule Magaji Bata and Dauda Bako were among them. Daniel Dazi of Senci, a soldier

from about 1935, obtained a discharge from the army before the War was over, on purpose to preach to his community at Senci.³³

Self-Theologizing

Christian theology as expressed throughout the two millennia since Jesus has inevitably involved the world-view of the Christian communities and their theologians. As the total Christian community has the resources of Scripture and the Holy Spirit, theology is, in the writer's view, never totally captive to cultures although always expressed through particular ones. Theology in Africa has been expressed concretely in worship, both congregational liturgy, art and devotional practices, whether written in textbook form or not. Theology is best done 1) in fellowship of the whole Christian community – as wide a community of past and present Churches as a particular theologian and his or her tradition or denomination can reach – and 2) in the presence of the religions in the context of the Churches.

The North American missionaries of the MBiC and the UMC shared the western and evangelical assumption that the Bible had been or could be sufficiently interpreted to yield a host of timeless and trans-cultural truths. That Banfield had not been able to identify a Nupe word for several terms of Christian theology as used in the Bible (eg sin) was taken as a demonstration of the deficiency of Nupe culture, or at least its degeneration due to sin.³⁴ Banfield developed a great appreciation for the customs and humanity of the people of Nigeria, but the majority of his co-workers, with only an evangelical Mennonite and holiness activist church-life to help them interpret Nigerian societies, were certain they were seeing only deception in the case of the religion of the Muslims and devil worship in the case of traditional religion. They felt frustration that hearers of their preaching did not sooner see the light, and did not doubt that satanic forces

were blinding many of their hearers. A W Banfield's earliest translation efforts went to producing verses of Scripture that his fellow missionaries could at least read in their preaching to people they hired, market place preaching, or on visitation in Nigerian compounds.

Bible Translation

Evangelical conviction that the Bible is the foundation of Christian faith and practice made the use and translation of the Bible a feature of their missions and the MBiC and UMC definitely contributed to the list of Bible translations in the twentieth century. Translations of the Scriptures have often been essential for the growth and survival of indigenous churches, supported by texts suitable for worship, public and private.

The UMS commitment to Bible translation faltered in the course of the century, however, just as it did all over Nigeria in the face of demands by young Nigerians and their parents for training, not in their home languages, but in the languages of advancement, chiefly English, and to a lesser extent, Hausa in the north.³⁵ This attitude was noted by the British and Foreign Bible Society even as early as 1925,³⁶ and it made the Society increasingly reluctant to fund the publishing of more and more portions for small language groups or small Christian communities.³⁷ However, the reported increased use of Hausa among the Nupe was vigorously denied by Ira Sherk when dealing with new Bible Society staff who were ready to postpone the publishing of the Nupe Bible, again, in 1946.³⁸

UMS personnel began and abandoned translation projects among the Dakarkari (Lelna) (Paul and Phoebe Ummel, Gospel of Mark, published 1931),³⁹ and Salka Kambari (Norman and Grace Durkee, Gospels of Mark and John, published 1933).⁴⁰ A generation later, efforts in Tsureshe (Edma Brubacher, Eldon and Violet Boettger, Gospel of Mark, 200 mimeographed

copies, 1967),⁴¹ and Dukanci, (Donna Skitch and Esther Cressman, worked on drafts of the Gospel of Luke and other portions, from 1962 to 1978),⁴² began well, but did not finish.

Initially untrained in linguistics, MBiC MS and UMS missionaries from A W Banfield onward believed that providing the Christian Scriptures was an essential gift for the flourishing of the African Christians in the future. When Banfield in particular became convinced of the need for Bible translation, or whether his growing skill in the Nupe language encouraged him to pursue that line of missionary work is not clear.⁴³ He justified his commitment to it – for example, spending most of six months in early 1910 doing almost nothing but translation (after building a cement block house and a mud block church building in Jebba from November 1909 to March 1910) – by referring to what he believed was the experience among the Yoruba:

...it has been shown that in the Yoruba country the entire Bible was translated over thirty years ago and now in the last three years they have been selling thousands of them.⁴⁴

He hoped that even if little use might be made of the Nupe Bible at first, it would be ready for, or part of the cause for, a later awakening.

Much later the UMS assisted the women of Gospel Recordings to survey and record scriptural texts and messages in 19 of the 22 languages they could find in the UMS northern area.⁴⁵ This information stirred some renewed interest in the UMS for indigenous language work.

Gambian Lamin Sanneh of Yale University has demonstrated in his noted book, *Translating the Message*, that missionary Bible translations, even if not intended for the preservation of indigenous cultures around the world, have in many cases preserved not only local languages, but led to the rebirth of local cultures in the face of local, missionary or global pressures to assimilate, by dignifying the language and culture of people groups with the sacred

text addressing them in their language.⁴⁶ In the UMCA examples come to mind, but among them would be the far from complete translation of scriptures into Tsureshe begun in the late 1930s (a Gospel of Mark), with grammar and lexical studies by UMS missionaries.⁴⁷ The pressure on the Reshe to convert to Islam and abandon the “pagan” language in favour of Hausa has been rather successful, except in the few villages of Shabanda (UMCA), Pisabu (ECWA church), and Nnh [sic], a village dislocated by the Kainji dam project where the Roman Catholic mission had some followers.⁴⁸ In these places, Tsureshe use has continued, perhaps partly as a symbol of resistance to Islam and the Hausa.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the Nupe Literature Conference members: (Anglican, SIM and MBiC MS/UMS), early provided the Lord’s Prayer, the Apostles’ Creed and the Ten Commandments as a resource for Nupe believers.⁴⁹ Members of the missions developed songs and hymns in Nupe.⁵⁰ When the UMS expanded to the Ashingini (Kambari) of Salka and the Lelna of Zuru, missionaries turned their hands to hymn writing, as well as primers and collections of stories.⁵¹

Worship

Mention has been made of materials for evangelical worship—texts mostly—in various languages. The missionaries introduced worship forms that they knew from North America, without inquiring about worship systems from Nigerians, although sporadically indigenous elements came into church life—such as prayer with the eyes open. Most rituals were dismissed in articles in the *Gospel Banner* as darkness and devil worship. The North Americans early brought an organ to Jebba, but it was frequently in need of repair.⁵² A piano in the chapel at the Mokwa Teacher Training College was constantly disturbed by the huge changes in humidity.⁵³

Hymns and gospel songs were translated from the English repertoire and their tunes used directly. Nigerians, used to enjoying songs in many languages (even if not understood) and cultural variety in musical styles already, seemed willing to accept the symbols of the new religion as a matter of course, but as many visitors to African churches remark, the European musical heritage does not communicate well in most African cultures. Music, and worship, become living things as indigenous forms, and traditional forms with selected elements of western music or new adaptations of western forms come into church life.⁵⁴ This is even true currently when, for example, a choir turns from Hausa songs to C'Lela texts with indigenous modes. Drums, which were universally employed in all aspects of community life in Africa,⁵⁵ were so often associated with traditional worship, that Nigerian Christians themselves might ban their use in the church services, although missionaries were frequently the ones who disfavoured their use.⁵⁶

Christian ceremonies such as the Lord's Supper and baptism, dedication of children and the ordinance of washing of the saints' feet fared unequally according to the missionaries' estimation of them. It was already noted how baptism, although a necessary sign of initiation into Christian life and discipleship, suffered through the scarcity of qualified personnel in the Nigerian church to administer it. The question of who could be dedicated,⁵⁷ baptized⁵⁸ or participate in the communion service in polygamous households was a continual problem.⁵⁹ Some Nigerian Christians avoided the Lord's Supper because they feared implicating themselves with a curse. Foot washing dropped away as the missionaries reflected the growing neglect and uncertainty about it by the North American church.⁶⁰ The Field Conference of 1954 urged the committee of Nigerians and missionaries to include Washing of the Saints Feet in the constitution of the United Missionary Church of Africa,⁶¹ but the actual Constitution presented to the UMS General Board,

which reads like a sketch of a constitution (it is 3 pages long), left out details of practices including which ordinances to be observed by the Church. Included under “III. Purpose”, it only said, “...to...administer the sacraments...”⁶²

Among the Yoruba, the efforts of earlier missions, Anglican and Baptist in particular, produced hymn books which the UMCA used. The Bible, catechisms, the Lord’s Prayer and other standards of spirituality such as Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* were available. Before the opening of the station at Jebba there were already African-initiated Yoruba churches in the south, continuing the indigenizing of Christian tradition in that culture. The mission considered a group like the African Church, which split from the Anglicans partly to justify the rightness of polygamy, a cover for sin, but people like Alexander Banfield gave cautious acceptance for usefulness to even the heterodox movement of “Elijah,” (Garrick Braide) in the Ibo area.⁶³ The mission altered minor details of its policy on polygamy from time to time, but held to the Western view that it was forbidden by the Bible.

Among the Nupe, the UMS helped produce a hymn tradition and worship materials through the Nupe Literature Committee, although Prayer Book liturgy was never used by the Mennonite mission. Worship was the familiar evangelical mix of hymns, prayers, scripture reading, announcements and offerings, followed by a scripture-based exhortation leading to calls for decision for conversion, renunciation of specific sins, and the holiness call to heart renewal by the Holy Spirit. Missionaries also introduced the Bible conference or revival meeting activity when sufficient numbers showed enough acquaintance with Christianity to warrant it. Emma Hostetler wanted to plan a Holiness convention in connection with Florence Overholt’s 1911 wedding at Jebba, something impractical at Tsonga, where the only Christians of even a nominal

sort were those children in their own household.⁶⁴ North American style camp meetings were introduced in the 1950s.

Among the more northerly people groups, the shift to Hausa in the school and mission lead to worship services being conducted in Hausa, especially in centres where various groups settled. In Tungan Magajiya the mission hospital staff used Hausa and because of the different people groups coming to the hospital, the church service was conducted in Hausa, until Esther Cressman and Donna Skitch began to learn Dukanci in 1962. The custom of worship being conducted in Hausa extended throughout the northern communities of the UMCA even in villages where members of only one people group attended the church and often women who stayed in the village knew very little Hausa. UMS leaders such as Field Superintendent Ozro Traub, himself an expert in Yoruba, knew it was far from ideal. Too many times the shortage of staff led the mission to shift missionaries around the stations, and discouraged people from specializing in a particular language.⁶⁵

The charismatic and pentecostal revival in southern Nigeria following the Civil War began to change the worship practices of all Nigerian denominations and is still going on. The separatist stance of many of the “ministries” which developed rapidly into denominations drew the condemnation of the UMS and many UMCA elders. The charismatic experience of a few UMS missionaries and the encouragement it gave to some youth in the UMCA led to the refusal of their return to Nigeria. Under the new rules of mission-church relations, following the handover in 1978, the UMCA leaders could disapprove of the return of individual missionaries. Elderly UMCA members complained that certain practices, most visibly hand-clapping and shouting of “Hallelujah” and “Amen” in church, had not been taught by the missionaries.⁶⁶ Disregard of the

older generation's leadership was likely the actual problem behind the elders' complaints, as some youth showed contempt for the Christian experience of the older generation who often suffered as the first to come out of traditional religion, and were often illiterate or barely literate. Many of the new practices have become standard in the worship of town and city UMCA churches, and tongues-speaking is widely tolerated.

The missionaries tended to conduct one to one and a half hour-long meetings, but in any case, governed by appointed clock times. Many indigenous African activities are "event oriented", that is, the event unfolds until it is done, without much regard for time and there is much coming and going during the event. Attendance is somewhat as Woody Allen remarked, "Success is 95% showing up." UMCA church worship has tended to lengthen since the example of the UMS has faded. Scripture exposition or exhortation has remained a feature of UMCA worship, in common with evangelicalism world-wide, although rituals such as anniversaries, fund-raising events, thanksgiving ceremonies (involving lengthy times of offering collections) do crowd out preaching at times.

Wider Fellowships

The UMS field leaders attended inter-mission meetings. They refused to join the Christian Council in 1947, however, judging it to be a tool of liberal ecumenicalism.⁶⁷

Individual missionaries participated in northern Nigerian groups such as the three Fellowships of Christian Students, of Christian Nurses and of Christian Teachers, as speakers, advisors, officials and editors.⁶⁸

The UMS was involved in NLFA from the start, which involved cooperation with several churches and missions. With SIM, the UMS and their two related Nigerian denominations,

ECWA and UMCA, called for and formed the Nigeria Evangelical Fellowship, a member of the Association of Evangelicals of Africa.⁶⁹ The UMCA has continued membership in Nigerian Evangelical Fellowship, participated in NFLA in the north, and locally districts or churches join the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) which has no doctrinal basis, but lobbies the various governments concerning various issues. There are numerous associations in Nigeria which the UMCA takes part in informally and occasionally, such as the Bible Society of Nigeria.

Attitude to Other Religions

In common with the vast majority of Christians in the nineteenth century and the majority in the first half of the twentieth, the MBiC understood the Scriptures to teach that outside of Jesus Christ, there was no salvation, but eternal loss. This was affirmed in document after document.

For at least some members of the church, however, explicit faith was not a requirement of salvation for small children. They taught a doctrine of an age of accountability. When one of her pupils from a Muslim family died at Jebba, Cornelia Pannabecker took comfort believing that the child was safe in Jesus anyway.⁷⁰

When it came to other religions, the missionaries met traditional religion, known by the missionaries as heathenism, and Islam, called Mohammedanism. Although politically incorrect now, these terms were nearly universal at the time. Ebenezer Anthony wrote in 1902, “Mohammedanism has a strong hold on this country, and the way it is entrenched requires patient toiling and the superior shining of Jesus Christ to the delusive teachings of the Koran.” This belief was typical of missionaries who were to follow. Banfield’s respect for African systems grew during his years with the AIM, as may be seen in his comments in *Life Among the Nupe Tribe of West Africa*. He found community life such as village government often well organized and

functioning, contrary to his initial expectation.

Did you ever realize that there were people living in the heart of Africa, untouched by the white man, yet having the knowledge and civilization as seen in this photo?... The man seated in the centre, with his face lit up with a smile that shows a lovely, winning character, is a native chief.⁷¹

In another publication, this photograph was used loosely as an example of Muslim “chiefs” (some of the men are wearing a turban used in the emirate system), and not as an example of enlightenment.⁷² Banfield observed some of the practices of popular (“folk”) Islam at the time and contrasted them unfavourably to Christian faith as performed for show (*sallah* or public prayers) and unfounded in fact (drinking the ink washed off writing boards (*allo*) as a way of receiving blessing) and ignorant (recitation of prayers and Qur’an in Arabic without understanding).⁷³ Banfield admired the zeal of some Muslims he knew and he certainly agreed with them for saying there is one God, a future life after judgement, and the importance of praying to God.⁷⁴ In later years, as noted, Banfield wrote a tract and a booklet of apologetics for Christians about Islam. He obtained a copy of Karl Pfander’s *Balance of Truth*, considered the best apologetics book toward Islam at the time, re-issued in a new edition by the British Religious Tract Society in 1910. Other missionaries did not begin with much knowledge. Cornelia Pannabecker still thought that Muslims bowed to Muhammed, a year after she arrived in Nigeria.⁷⁵ A year later she knew Muslims believed Jesus to be a good man, and that God took him, letting another die on the cross.⁷⁶ Few in the mission had formal education beyond grade eight, as we noted, and the reading course required for ordination or dedication did not include any text on world religions. Casual contact seems to be the main source of information about Islam for many in the mission. The first to show interest in Islam’s theology seems to be Dr John

Erb, one of the doctors to the Memorial Hospital in Tungan Magajiya.⁷⁷ There was little sign of engagement with Islamic thought and little encouragement to the members of the UMCA to seriously investigate Islam beyond some standard lines of apologetics.⁷⁸ Although many Muslims certainly have been converted over the years to Christian faith through the UMS and the UMCA, very few of them were beyond the ordinary household practices of elementary Islam, and they repudiated nearly everything Islamic on conversion. The common opinion among UMCA members now is that while the creator God of traditional religion is the same as “the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,” Allah is not, but perhaps a demon.⁷⁹

A similar pattern showed itself in the missionaries’ contact with traditional religion, an attitude which raised the scorn of the first generation of Nigerian historians and theologians.⁸⁰ “Greetings from dear dark Africa,” wrote Emma Hostetler in her first annual report to the Canada Conference.⁸¹ Much was “darkness” to the MBiC MS and UMS missionaries. They certainly thought they were justified in that belief, frequently seeing evidence of religion-related social ills.⁸² Alexander Banfield realized that Nigerian attachment to their ancestors’ religion was not in itself reprehensible:

It is hard to get a hold in a country where the people are so content with their own religion, and though it is all so false and deceiving to us, still to them it is the best they have and the one they trust will carry them safely through.⁸³

The MBiC interpretation of Scripture arose out of the Mennonite tradition which read the Bible through a literalistic European world-view. The Church did not have schools or college graduates, and so did not pass through a period of modernist-conservative tension, although they noted and warned against modernism in their magazine. In common with popular evangelicalism, the members rarely doubted the existence or operation of a spiritual world, including Satan and

demons, opposed to God and Christ. Influenced by Enlightenment confidence in reason, they did expect that some of the claimed spiritual forces of traditional religion were tricks and superstition, but they never surrendered to a wholesale rationalistic world-view.⁸⁴ The power of evil spirits to do harm was recorded as such,⁸⁵ and at least certain missionaries were ready to cast them out of people brought to them and appearing to be so troubled.⁸⁶

1. Histories of Islam in Africa rarely explicitly note the slowness of the spread of Islam. Moyo Ambrose, "Religion in Africa," in Gordon and Gordon, 320, which is fairly typical, says, "Muslim communities were established fairly early....In Ghana...already by 1076 [about 370 years after the conquest of North Africa by the Arabs!] there was an established Muslim center...." and then jumps to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for the next examples.

2. John B Grimley and Gordon E. Robinson, *Church Growth in Central and Southern Nigeria* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B Eerdmans Publishing, 1966), 55.

3. CAPRO Research Office, *Kingdoms at War: An Ethnic [sic] Survey of Niger, Kebbi States and F[ederal] C[apital] T[erritory]* (Jos, Nigeria: CAPRO Media, 1995), 264. Only seven Nupes had been baptized in Patigi in the first 30 years of the station! Seth A Oshatoba, *SIM/ECWA Voices and Statistics from the Past* (Jos, Nigeria: self-published, 1994), 32.

4. Frequently interpreted by missionaries as a "weakening" of Islam, when the real religion of the villages would be a version of "Islamopaganism", cf Ira W Sherk, Letter, *GB*, 19 November 1914, 13, "The [Kusopa] district is usually referred to as being Mohammedan. However I was happily surprised to find very little present, though a little in every town. Heathenism is by far predominant...I have reason to believe that Mohammedanism is on the wane there." Cf CAPRO Research Office's reports on the state of traditional religion, Islam and Christianity in their volume on Niger and Kebbi States in the 1990s.

5. Ruby L Wilson and Olive M Evans, *Annie Yeo: A Life of Service* (Burlington, Canada: Welch Publishing, 1985), 31-32.

6. The current emir, a retired Major-General, assured the State governor recently that "we are almost all Muslims here" and the people would welcome the introduction of full *shari'a*.

7. Conversions are admittedly difficult to identify and count. Some years the Ontario Conference's city mission workers had to report conversions (eg 1902) and others they were not

required to. The men in the regular fields and missions (totally self-supporting and financially-assisted congregations) usually did not have to report numbers of conversions in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

8. In 1912, a good year for her, she recorded 5 visits, 37 calls in January, 7 and 9 in February (when her young girl Zanabu died), 10 and 21 in March, 6 and 5 in April (when her co-worker Emma Hostetler died of small pox), 3 and 10 in May, (most of the month spent in sorting Hostetler's belongings), 36 and 15 in June, 50 and 39 in July, 40 and 21 in August, 31 and 26 in September, 20 and 9 in October, 36 and 14 in November, 28 and 7 in December. From C W Pannabecker, "Diaries." Visits, but not calls (greetings but no preaching), were always part of the record City Mission Workers in Canada reported to their conferences.

9. Cornelia W Pannabecker to C N Good, 4 January 1917 from Shonga.

"Services Held at Shonga	27.
Attendance	1471.
Services at Gudu & Dumagi	19.
Attendance H[arold]RP[annabecker]	1065.
Attendance at daily morning, & Sun. Eve prayers.	1347.
	for five months.
Visits	215.
Number spoken to	1022.
School Sessions	225.
Attendance	2377.
Medical Assistance given to	885
by both of us."	

10. In a unique report printed in the *Conference Journal Proceedings of the Ontario Conference of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ...* 1935, 60, in addition to a page of the financial statement, S Goudie quotes Ira Sherk reporting 2,247 services held by missionaries, total number present as 77,412, but total in Sunday School as 20,657, medical treatments as over 25,000 and "total number taught in day school" as 35,428. One wonders how the average reader was to interpret these figures. In addition he mentions that at Jebba, presumably the brightest spot in the mission, the average number in Sunday services was around 400.

11. In the 4th ANFC, late 1924, the field adopted a form for station reports with the following items to be recorded: “Services Held; Total Number Spoken to; Sunday Schools; Number Present; Number Taught in Day School; Average Attendance; Medical Treatments; Compound Visits; Number Spoken To; Sermons held by Native Workers; Number Spoken To.” These records were presumably reported, but how thoroughly kept or what use was made of them, or what happened to the reports, is not known.

12. Personnel files, “Ira W Sherk,” [Storms collection, MCI].

13. Donald A McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B Eerdmans Publishing, 1970), 67-82. He calls the phenomenon “fog” in mission reporting.

14. Ibid.

15. *Emphasis*, 15 July 1972, 22. John Moran, *In Labors of Love* ([Ilorin, Nigeria]: Self-published, [1967]), 15, mentioned in 1967 that “[s]even new village congregations sprang up in one year in the U.M.S. area as a direct result of New Life For All.”

16. Stressed by the Church Growth movement, church planting as an accompaniment of church growth has been widely acknowledged.

17. Barbara F Grimes, ed, *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* 13th ed. (Dallas, TX: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1996), 327.

18. Eg works by O and C L Temple; C K Meek; H D Gunn and F P Conant; cf Renate Wentel-Lukas, *Handbook of Ethnic Units in Nigeria* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1985).

19. Due to the policies of General I B Babangida, President of Nigeria from 1985 to 1994, who came from Minna, capital of Niger State, Niger State was given parts of Kwara in particular to become the largest state by area in Nigeria (although not by population). Nevertheless modern Niger is almost the same as the British colonial “provinces” of Kontagora and Nupe. Kwara is now nearly the old province of Ilorin, while Kebbi is one third of the old province of Sokoto. Even under the British the boundaries changed from time to time.

20. The agreement with the CMS to release Mokwa to the MBiC MS in 1911 was an example of comity principles functioning well. Banfield had opportunity in the 1910 inter-mission meeting at Lokoja to discuss Mokwa directly with CMS leaders.

21. J Lowry Maxwell, *Nigeria: The Land, the People, and Christian Progress* (London: World Dominion Press, [ca 1927]), map between 144 and 145.

22. *Year Book 1930*,

23. Now called Language Recordings International. It was begun by Joy Ridderhof to record scriptures and gospel messages in every language. Phyllis Thompson, *Count it all Joy* (Wheaton,

IL: Harold Shaw Publishers, 1978).

24. Cf Esther Cressman, "Out of Every Tongue," *MB*, June 1962, 3,9.

25. Arthur Reifel, "Gurai," *MB*, April 1962, 11.

26. *MB*, February 1967, 8.

27. Ozro L Traub, "In Our Tongues—The Case for Language," *MB*, December 1962, 2-3.

28. "District" replaced "Conference" in church terminology in the North American merger of 1969. With the increase of missionary effort by UMCA since 1986, the introduction of Ebira, Tiv and several branches of Gwari will tend to increase the tensions unless English does become the church *lingua franca*.

29. [Sakaba Tom Rikoto], "Tarihin Ekklesiyar Kasar Zuru Daga 1925" ["History of the Church of the Land of Zuru since 1925"], mimeographed paper, 1977, 1.

30. "The Beginnings of Christianity in the Zuru-Tungan Magajiya Area and the Life of Rev. Sule Magaji," in Lois Fuller, ed *Faith of Our Fathers: Life Stories of Some UMCA Elders* (Ilorin, Nigeria: World Partners, 1999), 45. *Golmo* lasts about five to seven years.

31. Lageer, "Zuru," *The Heathen for Thine Inheritance*, [unpaginated]. One was Gujiya, who added Philip to his name, others were Karatu Gwele who became a pastor, Shekara (a Duka man) and Shakada. Shortly after, the twins and Gujiya visited Peni, and two young men followed their preaching in C'Lela, Kibo and Kara. Kara was threatened by the elders and gave up, but Kibo persisted and became a pastor as well.

32. The British recruited young Lelna men, establishing a barracks near Zuru before opening the people group to missionary work in 1925. They gained this reputation by being one of the few groups to defeat a professional slave raiding army of the Ngwatmatse family, Hausa-Fulani emirs of Kontagora. It is said one quarter of the young men were enlisted in the Colonial army in the Second World War.

33. Lageer, "Senchi," *The Heathen for Thine Inheritance*, [unpaginated].

34. Banfield, *Life Among the Nupe*, 67. Cf Idem, "A Translator's Vicissitudes Part I," *The Bible in the World* (1929), 142.

35. Turaki, 136-146.

36. *121st Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (1925), 150. "Fifteen years ago many of the missionaries were opposed to the use of the Hausa language among the small pagan tribes... To-day conditions have greatly changed, and the small pagan tribes are more keen on learning to speak and read Hausa than their own language."

37. The world-wide depression of the 1930s did not help the situation. [Edwin W Smith], Editorial Department, British and Foreign Bible Society, to [CMS missionary] A E Ball, 19 November 1936: "We are not so sure that...that there are some 2,300 readers known to and connected with the missionary societies...and about 1,000...in native schools, warrants the whole of the Old Testament being published.... You must not think that...we are unwilling...The expense of printing the Bible is considerable." The author thanks Constanze Weise for this reference from SIM International Archives, Charlotte, South Carolina.

38. Ira W Sherk to A H Wilkinson, from Kitchener, Canada, 10 September 1946. [Ira Sherk file, MCIA] As mentioned above, the entire Nupe Bible was finally published in 1953; "The Whole Bible in Another Language," *MB*, June 1953, 8-9.

39. Rev and Mrs Ummel apparently completed the translation of Matthew, Luke and John in manuscript, but these were never published; cf Storms, *WGHW*, 70.

40. Jacob Bawa Salka translated some portions of Mark and Matthew into his Salka Kambari as reported in *MB*, August 1967, 2, but they also were never published.

41. "Progress in Language Reduction," *MB*, September 1967, 11.

42. Esther Cressman and Donna Skitch, "We are Linguaging Christ," *MB*, June 1967, 5. This article mentions that Dr Eric Mierau of the American Bible Society who lived in Salka studying Kambari advised the mission about alphabets and grammar for four languages involved in the area. "Two American girls will continue the work on the language of the Gungawas...A Swiss couple have taken up the challenge of providing the Bible for the Busa tribe...Timothy Bagna...a Dakkarkari, has responded to translate the Word for his people...Dr Mierau is helping Timothy and Joseph, a Fakawa, to prepare primers in their respective languages." Few of these initiatives came to pass or took root, due to the civil war. Moran, 76-77.

43. Banfield, "A Translator's Vicissitudes," 141. "The task which I have just completed has been my heart's one desire, and the propelling impulse of my life. The sacred ambition to give the Nupe peoples the Word of God took complete possession of my soul: and has never deserted me day or night."

44. Alexander W Banfield to the Ontario Conference, Shonga, 14 August 1910, *Conference Journal Proceedings of the Ontario Conference of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ...1910*, 39.

45. Esther Cressman, "Out of Every Tongue," *MB*, June 1962, 3,9.

46. Lamin O Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1989). Sanneh was thinking especially of the confidence in God's attention to peoples under European colonialism or missionary control, but the thought equally applies to Islamic, Hindu, Marxist or other dominations.

47.28th ANFC, October 1948, Share: “Yelwa–Boettgers. Mrs E Brubacher to continue to study the Gungawa language & record a vocabulary and grammar of the same.”

48. Storms, *WGHW*, 74, described the Reshe in 1948 as “pagans of the pagans,” at least away from Yelwa. The Mission perceived the people of Yelwa as a separate people group, the Yauri, because of the Hausa-Fulani influence. Cf CAPRO Research Office, 237-245.

49. [Editor], “In Northern Nigeria: An Interview with the Rev. A.W. Banfield,” *The Bible in the World* (1908), 110.

50. Eg Cornelia W Pannabecker, “Diaries,” 21 September 1911: “I went to Makwa. Found them well. They [Emma Hostetler and Florence Overholt] have been working on the hymns all week so I had to pitch right in & get to work.” The Anglicans had a version of a Nupe hymn book as well. A W Banfield mentions composing hymns in his annual letter to the Ontario Conference, *Proceedings of the Ontario Conference of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ 1910*, 38.

51. Eg Phoebe (Brenneman) Ummel wrote many for the C’Lela hymn book (*Litafik Csepa*), besides contributing a few in Hausa for the widely used *Litafi Wakoki*. One of her Hausa compositions survives in the edition of 1966, still reprinted. Already mentioned was the Pollocks’ attempts to frame choruses in the language of the Baribas in 1954.

52. Cornelia W Pannabecker, “Diaries,” 26 April 1907; 2 July 1911: “We had the organ fixed and used it once again. It is a help.” Cf 25 October 1911: “The organ springs came so I must get them in.” The Mission may have used its own discretion, since the MBiC General Conference allowed each Conference to decide whether to use musical instruments in church worship only in 1916, whereas they were not allowed earlier; Storms, *HUMC*, 231.

53. Personal communication, Harold Knights, 31 March 2003. Electronic keyboards are rapidly gaining acceptance and overcome that problem in the last generation.

54. The writer is not a scholar of music, but has noticed for example, that melodies with chromatic intervals in well-known European hymns are eroding into something more like a pentatonic versions in local church usage.

55. Alexander W Banfield, “The Talking Drums of Africa,” *Evangelical Christian*, September 1930, 515-516, 536.

56. Yoruba D O Taylor was the one who discouraged the use of drums in the time of Willis Hunking; personal communication from Willis Hunking, 1995. However, drums were used in Igbeti in 1919-1921 to call people to Christian preaching, Oloyede, 45. Drums have returned to worship services of Nigerian churches, although certain instruments and styles are still too closely associated with certain traditional worship to be acceptable to church elders. The writer’s brother-in-law’s church wedding in Tungan Magajiya was nearly cancelled in 1996 because *skiru* style drumming was played at the celebration on the eve of the wedding, a style banned by the church district. The western “set drums” (bass, snare, cymbal) are popular in city churches now.

57. The "Standing Rules for Missionaries in the Field. 1944," revised the rule about the dedication children of polygamist parents and denied dedication generally, except by the decision of a committee which would include the "missionary in charge" of a station and the field superintendent. [Storms Collection, MCIA] At the 19th ANFC, January 1940, at Jebba, it had been noted that the practice of dedicating children had not been uniform in the Mission. Already by the 25th ANFC, November 1945, at Jebba, the rule became: "Children of Christian mothers, whether wives of polygamists or otherwise, may be given the church's blessing, the mother only presenting the child."

58. 28th ANFC, October 1948, Share, affirmed the rule, "Persons living in polygamy cannot be admitted to baptism," and dropped the provision that had allowed probationary membership to polygamists "until they can qualify for full membership."

59. Polygamy and marriage questions came up at joint mission meetings from 1910 to 1930 at least. Polygamy is still widely practised under customary law and Islam in Nigeria.

60. Editorial, "Doctrines Dying Out," *GB*, 15 October 1953, 3; Storms, *HUMC*, 228, records that the practice was regarded as a possible practice, not an ordinance, in the 1955 Constitution of the UMC, along with the doctrine of non-resistance.

61. "34th ANFC, October 1954, Share," *UMS Journal* (1954), 21. The Regional Meeting in the Hausa-speaking area observed the Washing of the Saint's Feet in July of that year, Mrs Marie (Clendenen) Yates, "Sharpening Tools," *MB*, September 1954, 10.

62. *UMS Journal* (1955), 42.

63. Alexander W Banfield, "A Prophet in Iboland," *The Bible in the World* (1916) 137-138. "One of the meetings of the prophet's followers has been described to me as like an old-fashioned revival meeting, where people were to be seen prostrated on the floor calling out for forgiveness, while others were praying and confessing their sins. In some towns I saw the charred remains of idols which the people had burned as a result of the prophet's teaching... Archdeacon Dennis told me that the churches in his district were crowded with enquirers, and the people are reading their Bibles more than ever."

64. Cornelia W Pannabecker, "Diaries," 22 September 1911. Cornelia seemed to have some uneasiness about the events planned for the wedding period. Cornelia noted right after recording Hostetler's suggestion her own prayer that God would over-rule.

65. Ozro L Traub, "In Our Tongues: The Case for Language," *MB*, December 1962, 2-3.

66. Ironically, many demonstrative practices had been standard in the early holiness movement, including the MBiC.

67. "Understanding the nature of the Christian Counsel [sic] as we believe we do: Resolved that we definitely decline any form of membership with that body. Passed." 27th ANFC, October

1947, Igbeti.

68. Moran, 16.

69. Originally the “Association of Evangelicals of Africa and Madagascar.” SIM’s sometimes fundamentalist constituency in North America precluded it from joining any organization of which it did not control the doctrinal position, so that SIM missionaries privately encouraged Willis Hunking to organize pastoral leadership seminars under NLFA in southern Nigeria involving groups such as Anglicans, Methodists and Presbyterians because they would be criticized for compromising; Personal communication, Willis Hunking, March 2003. The UMS, being the mission of a church which had not been involved in fundamentalist-modernist controversy, could view any such involvements as simply missionary.

70. Cornelia W Pannabecker, “Diaries,” 4 May 1911. Cf Reifel, 83, where the same assumption was made over 40 years later.

71. Alexander W Banfield, *Life Among the Nupe Tribe of West Africa* (Berlin, Canada: H S Hallman, 1905), 28. The chief is identified as a Nupe chief in the caption in [Editor,] “In Northern Nigeria: An Interview with the Rev. A.W. Banfield,” *The Bible in the World* (1908), 112.

72. [Ebenezer Anthony], “Mohammedanism and Christianity Face to Face in North Africa,” *The Missionary Witness*, [January 1905], 40-42. The *Missionary Witness* was a publication of R V Bingham of Toronto.

73. *Life Among the Nupe*, 27, 41.

74. *Ibid.*, 61, 67.

75. Cornelia W Pannabecker, “Diaries,” 18 November 1907, observing the people at prayer during the Salagi (Nupe: “little Sallah”).

76. Cornelia W Pannabecker to Canada Conference, 3 August 1908, from Tsonga, *Conference Journal of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ [Canada Conference] 1908*, 34.

77. He contributed articles to the *Missionary Banner* on Muslims and Islam, eg “Mohammedanism,” *MB*, June 1949, 7-9.

78. Eg, many in the UMCA believe there is a verse “somewhere in the Qur’an” that says that Muhammed said that he knew nothing about what would be his own destiny (assumed to mean, after death). Few have ever read the Qur’an even in translation. It is a situation very similar to the author’s, growing up Protestant and hearing things about Roman Catholics, who lived as neighbours and went to the same schools, but not knowing anything first hand. The verse is Surah 46.9, “Say, I am no new thing among the messengers (of Allah), nor know I what will be done with me or with you....” Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur’an*:

Translation (Elmhurst, New York: Tahrike Tarsile Qur'an: 2001 [originally published 1930].

79. The harsh judgement is then justified by I John 4:1-3, which says whoever does not confess Jesus Christ came in the flesh is antichrist, and not from God. The denial of the crucifixion and therefore the resurrection likewise convinces such a person that the wisdom expressed is not from God.

80. Eg Bolaji E Idowu in his *Oludomare: God in Yoruba Belief* being the best known.

81. Emma Hostetler to Canada Conference, 3 August 1908, from Tsonga, *Conference Journal of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ [Canada Conference] 1908*, 32.

82. Such as killing of twins, preference of healing rituals from herbalists (politically correct term in Nigeria for former "witch-doctor"), incapacitation from alcohol in worship exercises, and intimidation of women and children by the male masquerade organizations that communicated the will of the ancestors.

83. Alexander W Banfield to MBiC Ontario Conference, 27 July 1909, from Shonga, *Proceedings of the Ontario Conference of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ 1909*, 70.

84. In an uncharacteristic unsigned story, "Another Tragic Story from Dark Africa," *MB*, April 1953, 14, its author questioned the reality of a Nigerian's reported instruction from an ancestor in his attempt to get ahead in school without studying. Normally UMS writers accepted the reality of evil spirit beings, including Satan, yet not accepting every report.

85. Wilson and Evans, 32-33.

86. Willis Hunking, "A Miracle of Deliverance: A Demon Cast Out," *MB*, September 1965, 3.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION: MOTIFS, GROWING AND INDIGENOUS

Nearly all the motifs of Protestant missions after the Enlightenment identified by David Bosch¹ are plainly visible in the records of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Missionary Society and the United Missionary Society. They were 1) obedience to Matthew 28:18-20, 2) millennialist hopes, 3) “constrained by Jesus’ love,” 4) assumption of cultural superiority, 5) the glory of God, 6) the compatibility of missions and colonialism, 7) voluntarism, 8) assumption of the providential mission of the western Church, and 9) optimism about progress. This study has noted some of them briefly in passing, but it might be helpful to collect a few explicit statements from various periods to illustrate how members of this basically evangelical holiness mission expressed it. Since the MBiC adoption of pre-millennialism in the 1890s, there was room for a pessimistic rhetoric to dominate the sermons of the church about the state of society, but this did not carry over into individual and congregational life, where Wesleyan perfectionism and evangelical activism expected progress.

Ebenezer Anthony wrote to his friends in the Canada Conference of the MBiC that “so far as we have had opportunity we have had real joy in helping to carry out the last command of Jesus,”² in reference to Matthew 28:19-20. He was just echoing the thought of C H Brunner of Pennsylvania who wrote ten years before, “The missionary work is the theme of our Lord’s last commission to his disciples before he left this earth...”³ Obedience to this scripture was one of the

motifs of Enlightenment paradigm missions, according to David Bosch.⁴ As to other motifs, in the same letter, Anthony concluded, “The truth of the coming of the Lord is very precious to me as a missionary. Hallelujah!” In an article for the *Missionary Witness*, Anthony concluded that “*Love is the one thing that will reach the Moslem heart.*” [italics original], while earlier in the article, he asked, confident in the superiority of Christianity, “Why fear Islam?...the crescent begins to tremble before the cross.”⁵ Mission staff frequently refer to the love of God needing to be proclaimed and shown through the mission: “These dear Nupe women with their loveless lives need someone to love and cheer them, by telling them Christ loves them too...”⁶ Forty-five years later, Grant Sloss wrote of the fundamental motive for missions in “The Love of Christ Constraineth Us!”⁷ Alexander Banfield desired to be used for the glory of God: “Brethren, sisters, do not forget that we owe all that we have to God, and that He desires to use it for His glory.”⁸

The missionaries were not agents of the colonial government and had numerous particular complaints against the British authorities, only a few of which have been mentioned in this study. However, as Bosch notes, nearly all missions did not doubt that the colonial structure was providential for good. With the MBiC heritage of Anabaptism, one might have expected a more conscious critique of imperial state power. The mission did have a rule not to take up any political matter with the authorities if requested by a Nigerian.⁹ Anthony criticizes colonial staff in his 1904 article, complaining of the “popular way in which British officers are championing the cause of Islam,” and suggested that new British leaders would need to be raised up.¹⁰ However, Banfield in 1921, assuming the fact of colonialism as “here to stay,” reflected, “...it is for us to see that missionaries, as well as traders and government, take their part in moulding the new

Africa.”¹¹

After the Second World War, there was a wide-spread recognition that the conditions of missions had changed. The *Gospel Banner* and *Missionary Banner* each reprinted editorials from sister missions attempting to interpret and respond to the new day.¹² There was still no condemnation of colonialism as such, however, just recognition that as a system it was drawing to an end.

Once in the MBiC MS or the UMS, a missionary was the agent of the mission and expected to follow its direction, “We are the tools of the mission,” some of them wrote. Nevertheless, the whole call and location of missionaries was heavily influenced by the voluntary selection process: candidates offered themselves on the basis of inner motives and dreams, persuasions and voices, as abundantly illustrated in the profiles of UMS missionaries in Ellis Lageer’s *Who’s Who* (that is, in the UMS).¹³

In the absence of a hierarchical theology of authority in the church, but a belief that God could call anyone to anything godly, such a sense of call could provide a missionary with tremendous resolve in the face of difficulties. On the other hand, mere feelings and impressions can fade away under culture shock and disappointment.

Donald McGavran did not encourage people to think that churches grew through one or two factors, or always by the same causes, but by complex and shifting factors. Sometimes the causes of growth are nearly irreproducible, in the sense that uncontrollable and unpredictable factors provided a foundation for possible growth. In addition, “one who would understand church growth must be particularly careful that he distinguishes between what churchmen hoped would happen, what happened in an instance or two, what ought to happen, and what did in fact

happen.” “The answer to the question, “Why did church growth occur?” is complex.”¹⁴

Nevertheless, the Nigerian response to the preaching of the Christian message has been roughly similar across the country from people of traditional religion. Comparison of the size of SIM’s related ECWA to UMCA suggests that while the number of foreign personnel of the SIM in Nigeria was about 10 times the size of the UMS at each mission’s peak involvements in Nigeria, the churches stemming from their work are also roughly 10 or 20 to one in membership as well.

The Nigerian church which began functioning with the mission dissolved was self-governing, barely. The new constitution with its centralized headquarters and presidency had never been operated before.¹⁵ The Mission had consulted separately with the three language-based districts, and occasionally through a joint Mission-UMCA council. The focus had been on Mission to UMCA relations, not on creating UMCA unity.

The UMS had conducted concentrated courses in administration for numbers of UMCA leaders in the last years previous to the 5 January 1978 handover, but, unlike SIM and ECWA, individuals but not a system or institutions were left in place. Akinlawon wrote that the UMS had prepared the UMCA, but not well prepared.¹⁶ SIM, perhaps with their greater staff resources, left departments with Nigerians operating them at various levels for ECWA to run. In the UMCA, as soon as the individuals left the position they had trained for, there were few candidates ready to step in. For example, the first President-elect was still completing a PhD in Michigan and resigned for government service shortly after returning to Nigeria in 1979.¹⁷ The impact of his resignation was more disorienting for the church than if his role had been in place before the handover. Jonathan Amao was elected, an excellent and godly man, who spoke Hausa, English and Nupe beside his native Yoruba, but outside the day by day leadership of the UMCA so that

he had to be ordained after his election. He had to wait for months while a house and furniture were prepared for him and his family at the UMCA headquarters compound in Ilorin.

At the national level, UMCA was not self-supporting in 1978. The mission still supplied most of the teachers and some of the finances for the Theological College in Ilorin. A subsidy for the headquarters budget was only ended, painfully, in the 1990s, leaving many programmes (medical, missionary, maintenance of vehicles, communications for example) without means to continue. The districts maintained themselves. The UMS was the mission of a non-centralized denomination in North America until 1955, and it may be no accident that the church produced in Nigeria had strong districts, but has struggled to achieve national unity. The natural diversity of Nigeria strains any national structure, but the UMCA perhaps was born with strains “built in.”

The UMCA is a self-propagating body of Christians in the current environment. It has no outreach to the Hausa-Fulani bloc next door to them in numerous towns, especially in the north, but is “evangelizing to the fringes”¹⁸ in the people groups already in the denomination and has small missionary efforts to a few others.

The growth of the UMCA is mainly organized at the district and local level. It is not entirely spontaneous in the sense that no one has to teach or urge or organize for evangelism and church-planting, but in most places these activities are going on. The UMCA has more difficulty if large amounts of money for land or buildings are needed as in the state capitals and Federal Capital Territory. A church was needed for years in Sokoto, but never realized because people hesitated to organize without land for a church building, applications for which were routinely denied by the state government.

The UMCA has scholars who are fully capable of “self-theologizing” for the church,

although they are often too overworked in church affairs to think and write for the church. People with PhD or other doctorates in theological disciplines include Jacob Bawa Salka (Education), J T Harman (Education), P A Isola (Christian Ministry), M F Akangbe (New Testament), Caleb Ogunkunle (Old Testament), Olutola Peters (New Testament), Maidawa Tari (Old Testament), Segun Olawoyin (candidate in Philosophy), Ebenezer Kayode (candidate in Theology), Samuel Ango (Religious Studies and English) and a large number of Masters degree holders are or have been active in the UMCA Theological College, and in UMCA Bible College, and can write or preach on their subjects. Such scholars are more numerous than those in the Canadian Evangelical Missionary Church, and are close to being comparable to the numbers of those in the American Missionary Church. Most of these Nigerians began their academic careers with the UMS, but their doctoral level work was later than 1978, and sometimes outside the help of the mission.

The vigorous charismatic movement in the UMCA youth also brought in a vigorous tradition of Bible interpretation, sometimes consciously at odds with the broad evangelicalism of the latter generation of UMS missionaries, but theological reflection and practice nonetheless. Most of this reflection came in the later 1980s as youth adapted to or left the UMCA to found some of the multitude of charismatic ministries in Christian Nigeria, but it is ignorant of all but a thin pentecostal stream of Christianity, and has inherited the suspicion of disciplined theological studies common in popularist North American evangelicalism detailed by historians such as Mark Noll.¹⁹ In the face of pressure from numerous charismatics in the church to have everyone to speak in tongues in the 1980s and early 1990s, the church issued a position paper that detailed what it did and did not accept in the charismatic emphasis, that was continuous with the holiness

evangelicalism of the UMS.²⁰

At a local level, there are numerous influences at work, from Islamic world views and critiques of Christianity as such, to the still powerful faith movement (health and wealth) and the odd mixture of dispensational and reformed positions coming from UMCA's closest ally and rival, ECWA. In liturgy, the Anglican tradition of physical symbolism in ritual, and vestments for clergy perhaps the titles as well are becoming attractive to some in the church as they have already become to numbers of charismatic and pentecostal denominations.²¹

Someone has observed that African churches tend in time to look more like each other than they do the Western church or mission that gave rise to them. They are responding to their contexts. However, the context now is both global and local. This observation fits the indigenous United Missionary Church of Africa. Whereas some of the African-initiated churches studied by Western scholars (eg Church of the Lord Aladura) are no longer attracting the youth of Nigeria as they did, and have been overtaken by recently founded American-oriented urban charismatic denominations, many of the mission-founded churches also are growing. Amid the complex reasons for growth, some of which will certainly end when the prestige factors of connection to a foreign super-power no longer seem advantageous, the churches are growing, and the UMCA among them. The hope that the powerful Lord of the Church will "own his Word" keeps many members of the church testifying and her preachers preaching the Scriptures.

1. See above, page 4 n 8; David J Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), 285-345. The order in the present text is different from Bosch's.

2. Ebenezer Anthony to Canada Annual Conference, 21 January 1902, from Lokoja, Northern Nigeria, *Proceedings of the Canada Conference of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ* (1902), 85.

3. C H Brunner, "The Culture of the Missionary Spirit in the Sunday School," *GB*, 20 June 1893, 2-3.
4. Bosch, 340.
5. [Ebenezer Anthony], "Mohammedanism and Christianity Face to Face in North Africa," *The Missionary Witness*, 17 January 1905, 40.
6. Althea A Banfield to Ontario Conference, 26 July 1909, Tsonga, *Conference Journal of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Ontario Conference 1909*, 65.
7. Grant Sloss, "The Love of Christ Constraineth Us!" *MB*, September 1954, 8.
8. Alexander W Banfield to Ontario Conference, 27 July 1909, Tsonga, *Conference Journal of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Ontario Conference 1909*, 69.
9. "UMS Standing Rules for Missionaries on the Field. 1944." Rule 13, approved 1939 and modified 1940: "That no missionary take any political matters for the native to the Government." The Mission expected to deal with the government, as Rule 14 shows, also from 1939: "That prior to mentioning matters affecting the mission to Government, official or otherwise, the same be discussed with and approved by the missionary in charge, and if necessary with the Superintendent." In 1940, it was added, "...official correspondence with the Government be in triplicate..." probably reflecting some recent disagreement over what someone wrote.
10. [Anthony], "Mohammedanism and Christianity," 42.
11. Alexander W Banfield, "The Gospel in West Africa," *The Bible in the World* (1921), 183. Banfield was serving the British and Foreign Bible Society at the time, but his views may be taken as similar of his fellow church members in the UMS.
12. Eg Kenneth L Downing, "African Missionaries Facing Adolescent Africa," *MB*, June 1948, 13-14. Downing represented the Africa Inland Mission, but the article was reprinted from the National Holiness Missionary Society's *Call to Prayer*. A C Snead, "The Foreign Missionary in a Changing World," *MB*, August 1948, 12-[16], a long article for the *Missionary Banner* and approved by the editor, R P Ditmer, reprinted from a C&MA publication (Snead was the C&MA foreign secretary). Stanford Mumaw, "What Time is it in World Missions?" *GB*, 5 December 1946, 8; Robert Hall Glover, "Such a Time as This in Missions," *GB*, 6 February 1947, 8. Glover was a leader in the China Inland Mission.
13. Cf the call of Annie Yeo in Ruby L Wilson with Olive M Evans, *Annie Yeo: A Life of Service* (Burlington, Canada: Welch Publishing, 1985), 27.
14. Donald A McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B Eerdmans Publishing, 1970), 103, 104.

15. Acknowledged by Jim McDowell in a report to the UMCA General Board, "Eight Organizational Foundation Stones for UMCA," [ca 1987], 4, "If districts were organized early, so also should the headquarters have been... Yes, the UMS erred in delaying the creation of a headquarters."
16. Brenneman, "Indigenization," 28. Echoed still years later by Dr Jacob Bawa Salka, Personal Communication, 16 August 2002.
17. This was a disappointment to the missionaries at the time, and led to doubts about the wisdom of sponsoring students overseas again, but Dr Bawa was much used for Christian affairs in the Niger State Ministry of Education, recognizing schools and graduates of Christian schools for teaching positions. He later served Nigeria as an ambassador to Chad, Spain and the Vatican.
18. McGavran's phrase.
19. Mark A Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B Eerdmans Publishing, 1994), 123-126. The desire for higher education exists alongside with suspicion of theological education in many UMCA students.
20. Reprinted as "UMCA View on Spiritual Gift [sic] and the Influence of Pentecostalism," *United Missionary Church of Africa* 5:5 (December 2002), 1, 3.
21. The Anglican communion at 11 million in Nigeria is claimed to be the largest in the world after the UK; Patrick Johnstone and Jason Mandryk, ed, *Operation World: 21st Century Edition* 6th ed, (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster Press, 2001), 488, 489.

Fig 1 Nigeria in West Africa

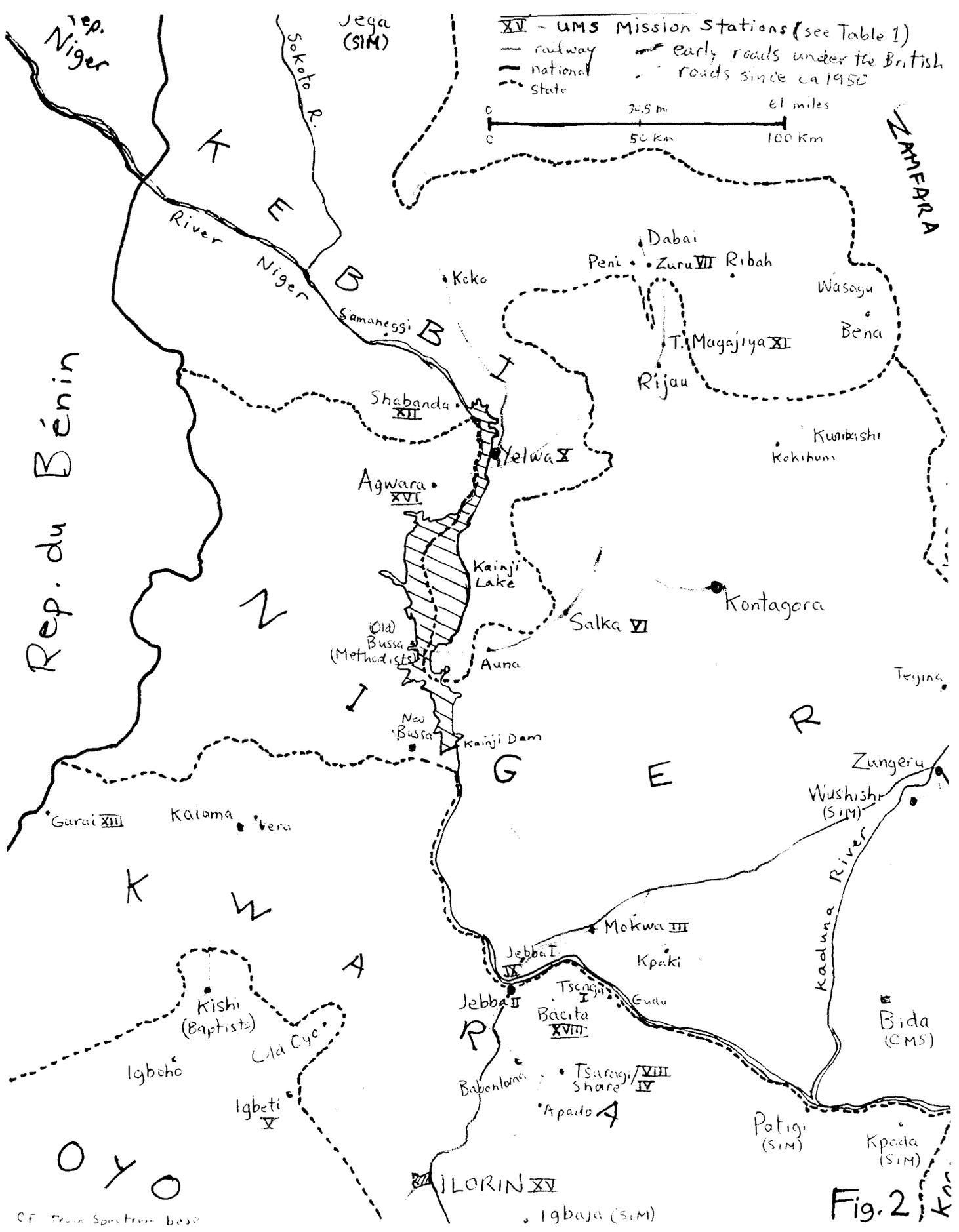


Fig. 1

CF from

Legend
 ~ National boundaries
 - Railway (west only) shown
 >1000 metres
 500 metre contour
 • towns
 □ cities
 note: Abuja founded in 1975 capital 1990

0 100 200 300 Km
 Scale approximate



CF. from Spectrum base

Fig 2 North Western Nigeria



[Emmanuel Bible College Archives]

Fig 3 MBIC MS Missionaries
Tsonga, 1907

*M. B. C. Missionaries 1907
Althea W. Overholt, Emma Hostetler, St. Pannabecker
Alexander W. Banfield, Ira W. Sherk*

left to right: Althea (Priest) Banfield, Florence Overholt, Alexander W Banfield,
Ira W Sherk, Emma Hostetler, Cornelia W Pannabecker

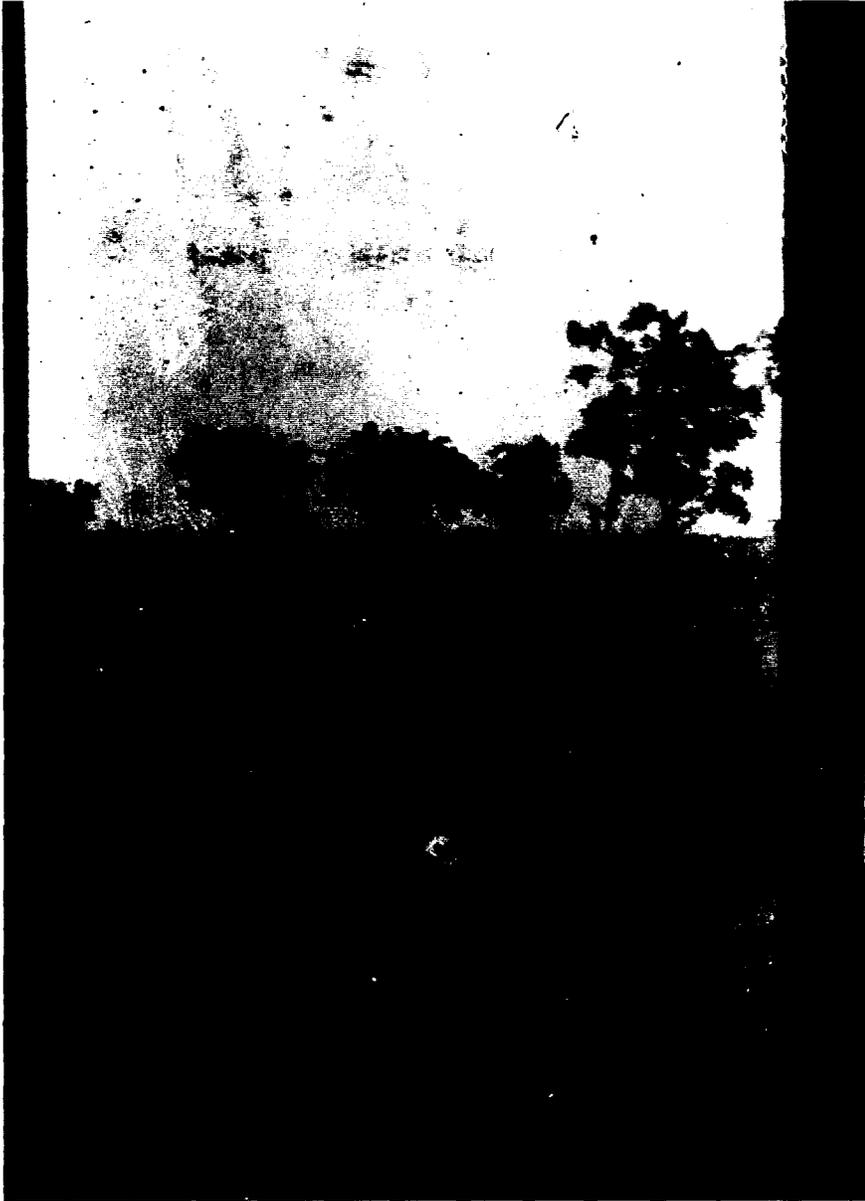


Fig. 4 Mamudu and Wusa (?)
at Tsonga, ca. 1915
[Emmanuel Bible College Archives]



Fig. 5 Cornelia Pannabecker with
young friends at Jebba, ca 1915
[Emmanuel Bible College Archives]



Fig 6 Cornelia Pannabecker with
Language Teacher Shaba, at
Tsonga, ca 1915 with others
[Emmanuel Bible College Archives]



Fig 7 MBiC MS School with Nigerian teacher, June 10 1915
[Emmanuel Bible College Archives]



Back row, left to right : Norah Shantz, William Finlay, Florence (Adams) Finlay
 Front row : Winifred (Bell) Lageer, Wilmot Lageer, Edith (Evans) Sherk
 Ira Washington Sherk

Fig 8 MBiC MS missionaries to
 Nigeria, 1918
 [Emmanuel Bible College Archives]



Fig 9 Sam Goudie and wife
Eliza (Smith) Goudie n.d.
[Emmanuel Bible College Archives]

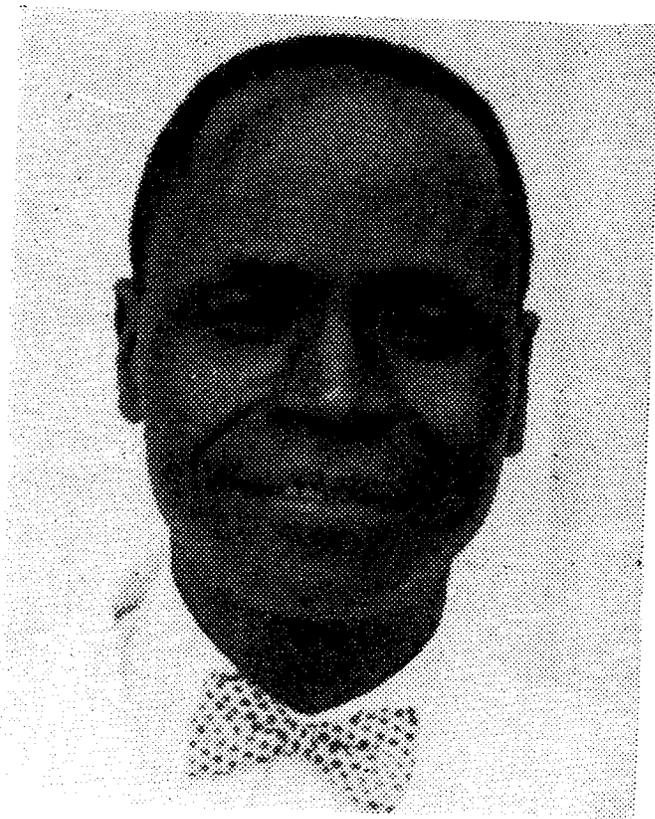


Fig 10 Daniel Olaleye Taylor,
1940s

J
•
NUV
•



Fig 11 UMS Zuru Compound,
1957 with mangos
[Emmanuel Bible College Archives]



BAWA FAMILY

L-R GRACE, SARAH, JACOB, JERY, ROSE, TIM, JAMES

" But as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord. "
Joshua 24:15

**BRETHREN PRAY FOR US AS WE LABOUR IN
OUR OWN COUNTRY NIGERIA, WEST AFRICA**

Fig 12 Jacob Bawa Salka and
family, 1971. [Emmanuel Bible College Archives]



Fig 13 L Russell Sloat, 1978



Fig 14 UMCA and UMS leaders in Ilorin,
5 January 1978

back row, left to right: Art Reifel, Joseph R Babatunde, John Adelodun,
Joan Walsh, Ormand Sherick, Peter K Audu

middle row: Jonathon Amao, Paul Taiwo, Nadukku, Ezra Dikki,
Ayaba Inuwa, Sule Magaji, Russell Sloat

front row: Allan Doner, Samuel Oloyede, James Harman, Joseph
Adeyemi, , , Ibrahim Isa, Michael Akangbe

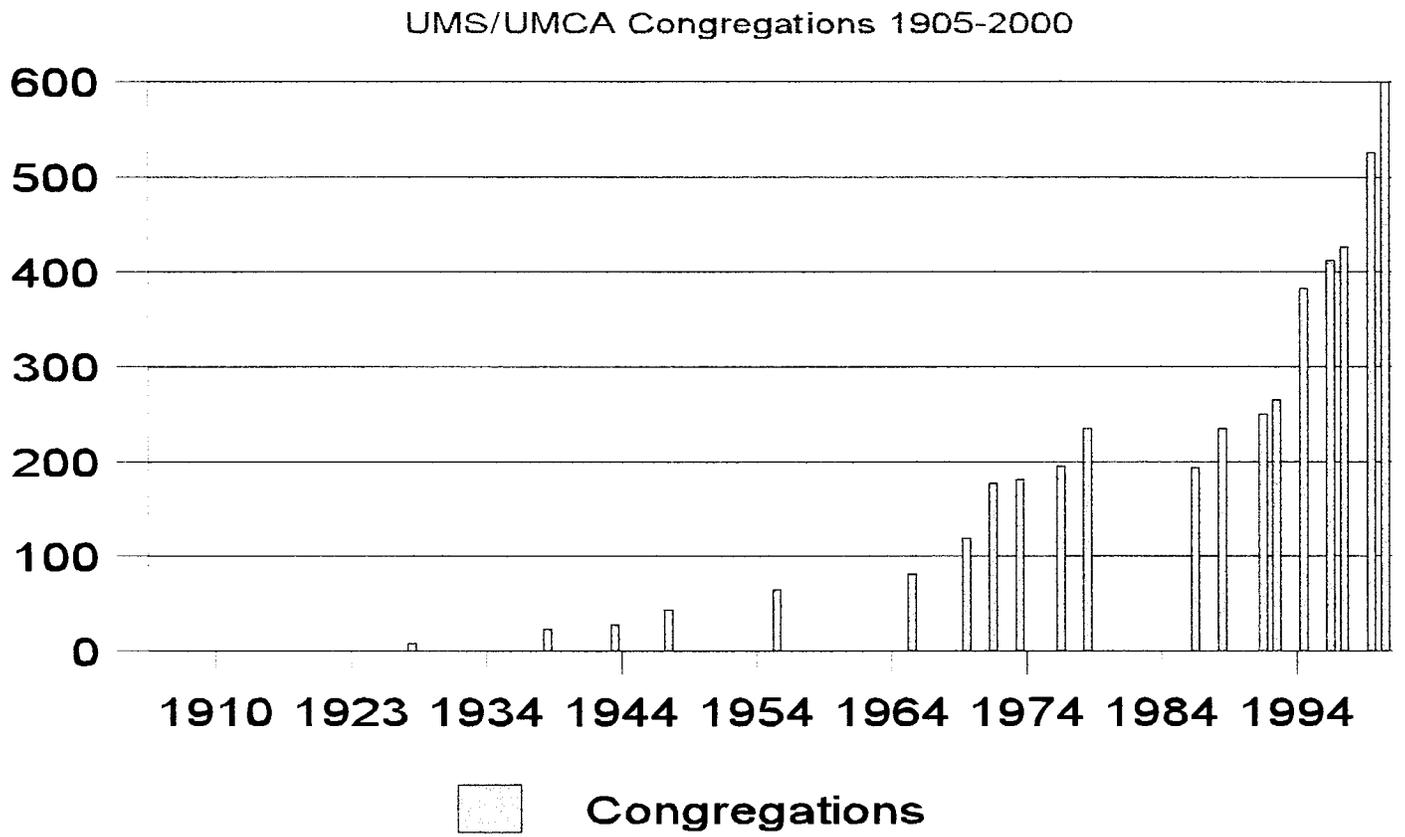


Fig 15

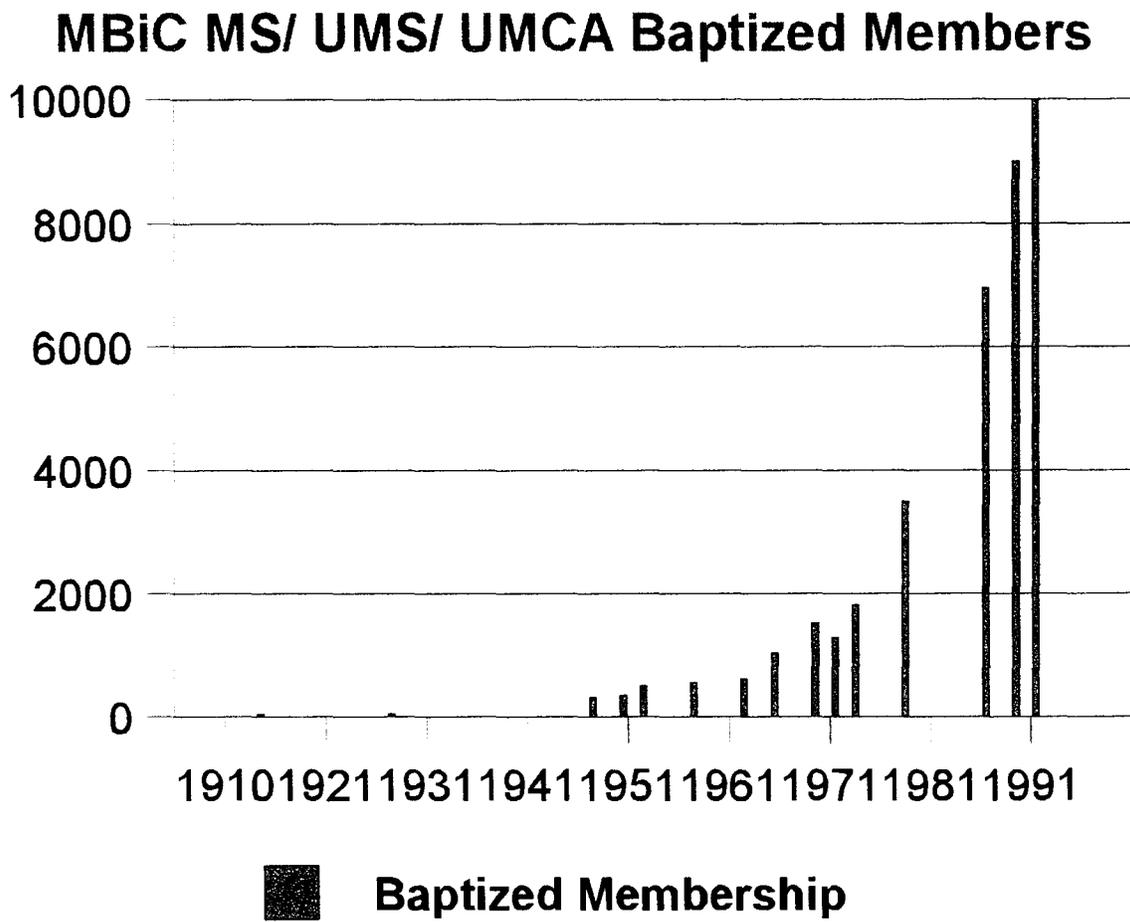


Fig 16

Av Sunday Attendance in MBiC MS/ UMS/ UMCA 1905-2000

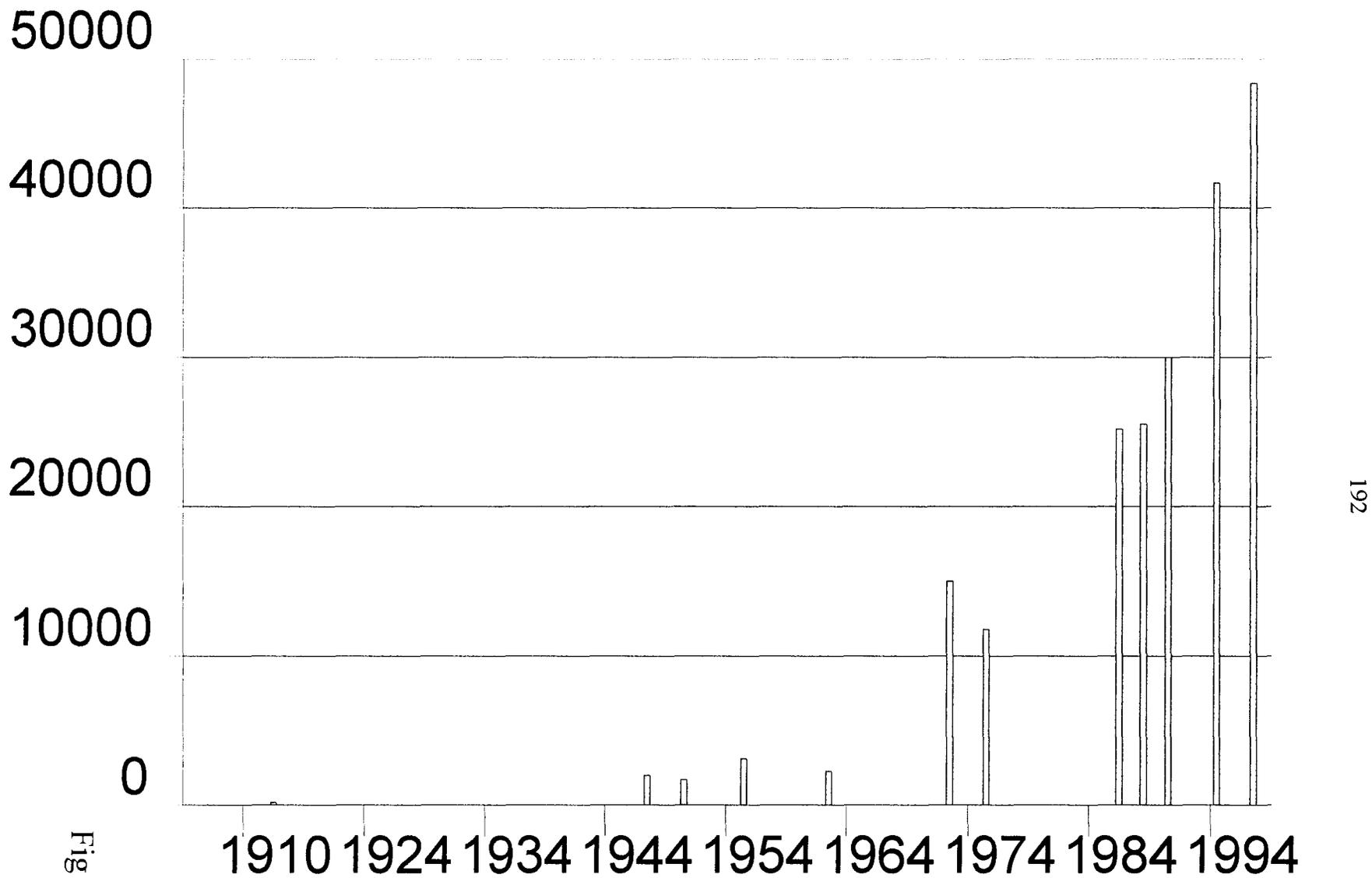


Fig 17

□ Average Sunday Attendance

TABLE 1

MBiC MS /UMS/ UMCA in NIGERIA
1905-2000

YEAR	CONGREGATIONS org / total/ unorg	BAPTIZED MEMBERS	ATTENDANCE Sunday av	ADHERENTS/ COMMUNITY	SOURCES/NOTES People groups
1905	I station: Tsonga				Nupe, no expat, 1925; closed 1930s
1910	II Jebba mainland				Nupe, Hausa, Yoruba
1911	III Mokwa				from CMS, Nupe
1913	first baptisms	38			at Jebba, Storms, 1948
1916	Gudu, Dumagi		ca 180 in all sites		temp preaching pts Nupe CW Pann letter
1919	IV Share/ Tsaragi				Nupe, Yoruba
1919	V Igbeti				Yoruba, supervised from Jebba until 1929
1923	VI Salka				Ashingini Kamberi
1925	VII Zuru				Lelna (Dakarkari)
1926	Kpaki				1 st permanent outstation, Nupe
1927	1 7 VIII Tsaragi	[>50]			Nupe, UMS Ybk 1930 Jebba organized
1930	IX Jebba Island				Nupe
1935			400 av att at Jebba		S Goudie, Ont Conf Journal, 1935, 60.
1937	X Yelwa				Reshe (Gungawa) and other river peoples
1938	7 16				Jebba Is. closed. (18 th field conference).
1943	8 20 Kukum outstation?				HUMC, 240 Gela/Fakai/Wipsi
1947	XI Tungan Magajiya 9 35	310	>2000		Dukawa (Hune) WGHW, 78; CE
1949	XII Shabanda			1700	Reshe; WCH 1949

YEAR	CONGREGATIONS org / total/ unorg	BAPTIZED MEMBERS	ATTENDANCE Sunday av	ADHERENTS/ COMMUNITY	SOURCES/NOTES People groups
1950		350	1700		G&R, 96, 205
1951	XIII Gurai				Bariba
1952	XIV Jos XVI Agara'iwa	500		5000	Missionary Rest House; <i>WCH</i> 1952 Agwara Kamberi
1953	XV Ilorin				UMS headquarters
1955	22 43 UMCA to Gold Coast, Tamale	223 + 280 unbaptized	739	SS: 1554	<i>MB</i> , Aug 55, 12 (UMS) Dagomba
1955	UMCA organized [14sta 39os]	750	2000 3100		G&R, 96; <i>HUMC</i> , 246 <i>MB</i> Dec 1955, 15
1957		550		5000	<i>WCH</i> 1957
1961	XVII Ibadan Tungan Yawo				Yoruba Gela/ Fakai/ Wipsi
1962	Sapele	615	2500-3000	5000	Urhobo , others, <i>WCH</i> 1962
1962		850 130 baptns	ca 2250		G&R, 96
1963	XVIII Bacita	>700		5000	mixed, G&R, 96 Gurai given to SIM
1965	81	1033		7970 av in Sun School in 1964	<i>GB</i> , 22 Apr 1965, 14
1965	60 15	258 baptns => 240 new members			typed sheet in EEL's <i>MS</i> notes, > 1972 Bapt as in <i>MB</i> Mr 66,7
1966	7 new churches	190 baptns			<i>MB</i> , Feb 1967, 8
1969	70 49 73 46	1527 215 baptns			MC Overseas Dep't EEL's <i>MS</i> notes
1970	75 46	164 baptns			EEL's <i>MS</i> notes Nigerians expelled from Ghana
1971	78 99 78 99	1283 81 baptns		SS: 5058	MC Overseas Dep't EEL's <i>MS</i> notes
1972	?191 78 58	79 baptns	15,000	7000 adults	<i>WCE</i> , EEL's <i>MS</i> notes

YEAR	CONGREGATIONS org / total/ unorg		BAPTIZED MEMBERS	ATTENDANCE Sunday av	ADHERENTS/ COMMUNITY	SOURCES/NOTES People groups
1973	93	88	1814			<i>Emphasis</i> , 1 May 1973, 10
1973 end yr	94	90				<i>Emphasis</i> , 1 May 1975, 9, art by A B Doner
1975	159		2752	11,773	14,000	MC Overseas Dep't; <i>Emphasis</i> , 15 Feb 1975
1976	106	89	567 baptms			EP, <i>Emphasis</i> J1 77,10
1978	110	125	3497		13,497	MC Overseas Dep't
1979				> 15,000		<i>Emphasis</i> , 15 Aug 79,8
1981	119	24[?]	ca 7500 >8000	>15,000	> 18,000	<i>Emphasis</i> , November 1981, 11; Apr 1982, 13
1986	186	8	6963	25,194		Maidawa Tari, Jim McDowell Gbari
	UMCA mission to Lashi					
1988	196	39		25,505		M Tari, J McDowell
1989 March	235		c 9000	25,000 excl children		M Tari
1990	230	7		30,000		J McDowell
1991 May	250		10,000	SS: 5,000		General Secretary Ebira, Tiv
	Chapel to Okene and Igbeti rural areas					
1992	265			28-33,000	42,500	GS, CF
1994	383			41,670	60,000+	CF
1996	306	(412) 106				UMCA President
1997	314	(426) 112				UMCA President
1999 Oct	526			48,365	72,000	CF
2001	(600)			52,000	c 104,000	CF

TABLE 1

MBiC MS /UMS/ UMCA in NIGERIA
1905-2000

Abbreviations

- baptms baptisms
 CF Clare Fuller, personal research
 CW Pann Cornelia Pannabecker letter to C N Good
 CE *Christian Encyclopedia*
 CMS Church Missionary Society
 Conf Conference
 EEL Eileen E Lageer
 EP Eugene Ponchot, Director, MC Overseas Missions Dep't
 expat expatriate
 G&R Grimley and Robinson, *Church Growth in Central and Southern Nigeria* (1966)
 GB *Gospel Banner*
 GS UMCA General Secretary
 HUMC Storms, *History of the United Missionary Church* (1958)
 MC Missionary Church
 MB *Missionary Banner*
 MS Lageer, *Merging Streams* (1978)
 org organized
 os out-station
 sta station
 UMS United Missionary Society
 UMS Ybk United Missionary Society *Yearbook* (1930)
 unorg unorganized
 WCE *World Christian Encyclopedia*, D Barrett ed, (1982)
 WCH *World Christian Handbook* (Dominion Press)
 WGHW Storms, *What God Hath Wrought* (1948)

TABLE 2

MBiCMS and UMS Staff Strength in Nigeria 1905-2000
Expatriate, Nigerian “Native Workers” and UMCA Pastors

Year	Mission	Nigerian (ordained/nonord)	Field Superintendent	Notes/ References
1905	2	0	A W Banfield	[ten years]
1906	4			
1907	6			
1908	6			
1909	6			
1910	6			
1911	8			
1912	6			
1913	6			
1914	8			
1915	9		Ira W Sherk	[31 years]
1916	7			
1917	6			
1918	10			
1919	9			
1920	9			
1921	8			
1922	10			
1923	12		William Finlay, acting	
1924	15	8		(3 rd ANFCM)
1925	14			
1926	14			
1927	16	9		GB, 9 June 1927, 10
1928	15			
1929	16	14		(9 th ANFCM)
1930	16			
1931	17			
1932	16			
1933	14			
1934	14			
1935	15			
1936	17			
1937	19			
1938	19	20		(IW Sherk deputation notes)
1939	21			
1940	22			
1941	23			
1942	23			
1943	23	(1/-)	D O Taylor ordained—1st Nigerian	

Year	Mission	Nigerian (ordained/nonord)	Field Superintendent	Notes/ References
1944	29			
1945	33			
1946	30	29	L Russell Sloat	[eleven years]
1947	45		"	
1948	46	ca 70	C T Embree	(WGHW)
1949	48		L Russell Sloat	
1950	51		"	
1951	50		"	
1952			"	
1953			"	
1954			Gordon Bolender, ag	
1955	"60"	49	L Russell Sloat	(Sloat, at handover, January 1978)
1956			"	
1957			Ozro L Traub	[ten years—it was now a policy]
1958	65		"	
1959	65		"	RSR, Gen Bd report, 5
1960	68		"LRS acting	RSR, Gen Bd report, 5 P A Taiwo ordained—2nd Nig
1961	65	58(4/54)	"	(MB, May 1961, 5) prepared for WCH 1962
1962	62		"	[MB, March 1962]
1963	62		"	RSR, Gen Bd report, 8; 20 on furlough
1964			"	
1965	64		"	RSR, Gen Bd report, 4
1966		(11/)	"	
1967			L Russell Sloat	
1968	56		"	
1969				
1970				
1971	48			<i>Emphasis</i> , 15 September 1971, 12 [+9 leave of abs]
1972			Allan Doner	[six years]
1973		90(14/76)		Doner, <i>Emphasis</i> , 1 May 1975, 9
1974	44			<i>Emphasis</i> , 1 September 1974, 16, list [3 leave of abs]
1975	31		"	<i>Emphasis</i> , 1 September 1975, 18, list [6 leave of abs]
1976	22	113(15/98)		E Ponchot, <i>Emphasis</i> , 15 July 1977, 11.
1977			"	
1978	18, Jan	117(12/105)	Allan Doner	[no field leader from 1979 to 1984]
1979	12	136+(12/125)	(Jim McDowell was liaison with UMCA leadership)	
1980	10	(39/?)		<i>Emphasis</i> , November 1981, 11
1981				
1982				
1983				
1984			FIM coordinator: Jim McDowell	
1985			"	
1986			"	
1987			"	
1988	11		"	
1989		144	"	
1990	13		"	
1991		250	WPN: Peter Dennison	

<u>Year</u>	<u>Mission</u>	<u>Nigerian</u> (ordained/nonord)	<u>Field</u>	<u>Superintendent</u>	<u>Notes/ References</u>
1992					
1993		158 full time staff		"	
1994				WPN: Lois Fuller	
1995					
1996				"	
1997					
1998	8			"	
1999					
2000	5	305+ 30 in Colleges		Clare Fuller	
2001				Lois Fuller	
2002				"	
2003	5				

Size of selected denominational families by census or membership compared to Mennonite Brethren in Christ membership in Canada and the MBiC/ UMC/ MC N Am total, 1871-2001

CANADA

YEAR	Anglican	Baptist*	Lutheran	Methodist	Presbyter	RC	Mennonite Community 11423**	Miss CC census	MBiC Canada	MBiC Total	Notes *includes I ***Tunkers	
1871	13.40%	6.70%		15.40%	14.80%	40.40%						
1875									c 400			
1877										700		
1881	13.30%	6.90%		17.20%	15.60%	41.40%						
1887										2299		
1888									1229	2442		
1891	13.40%	6.20%		17.50%	15.60%	41.20%						
1892										3045		
1896										3859		
1897									c 1522	3818		
1900										5020		
1901	12.70%	5.90%	1.70%	17.10%	15.70%	41.50%	31,797	[c 3000]#	1473 ('02)		# doubling	
1907									1877	5802		
1908										6351		
1911	14.80%	5.30%	3.20%	15.00%	15.50%	39.30%	44,625					
1912										6635		
1916										7551		
1917									c 2050	7841		
1920										8503		
1921	16.00%	4.80%	3.30%	13.10%	16.00%	38.60%	58,797					
1924										8953		
1927									c 2400	9611		
1928										9925		
1931	15.80%	4.30%	3.80%	***19.5%	8.40%	39.50%	88,837				***United (
1937									c 2700	11,887		
1941							111,554					
1947									2806	13,313		
1948							46,972m				Menn Yea	
1951				20.50%			125,938		2864	13,920		
1957										10,200	Penn Con	
1961							152,452		3139			
1962							52,987m				7th MWC	
1965									3207	11,184		
1969									3740	12,150	UMC and	
1971	11.80%	3.10%	3.30%	17.50%	4.00%	46.20%	&168,150		4121	c 20,000	& Hutterite	
1981				15.60%	3.40%	47.30%	189,370		7940	c 5500	c 25,000	1st time in
1991									11,405	c 6600		
2001									c 10,570	c 47,570	EMCC me	

USA YEAR	Denominational proportions							Other	Mennonite	Episcopal	Disciples
	Meth comm/mem; millions	Baptist	Rom Cath	No Relig	Pres&Ref	Congreg					
1855	5.5	4	4	4	3.5	2	1		1	0.5	
T=27m	1.6 20%	1.3	3.3		0.7	0.2	0.2		0.1	0.2	
1916											
1930	15.8	17.4	14.5	32.6	5.8	1.8	10.2		2.4	1.2	
members	7.9	8.7	21.6		2.9	1	5.1		1.2	1.4	
T=122											
1943 est									175,000	community	
1948 count									113,664	bapt members	
1962									159,445	bapt members	

TABLE 5

Mennonite Brethren in Christ Elders in Huffman's History
T=180, all ordained before 1920

Year Ordained	Educational Level Attained:					Total
	Common School (elemtry.)	High School	Some College/ Institute	University	Not Stated	
Before 1883	26	0	1	0	7	34
1883 to 1900	46	3	11	2	3	65
1901 to 1920	48	5	24	1	3	81
Totals	120	8	36	3	13	180

The profiled elders were not the total eldership of the MBiC from 1883 to 1920.

They were selected and sent in by the Conferences. Missionaries like T Ford Barker are not included, nor the elders who resigned in the pentecostal dispute in 1908, for example.

Thus the profiles are weighted in favour of personnel who contributed in some significant way over a longer period.

PART 2

Previous or Subsequent denominational experience noted in Huffman's History

Denom	Conference	No.	Notes
MBiC	I-O	1	Bartlett prob after MBiC
	Penn	2	Hershey, McDannel (1877/90)
	Ont	2	Kiteley (1870/82), Storms (<1920)
	Nebr	1	1909, '14
Prim Meth/ Can Meth/	Ont	1	Bolwell, 28 yrs in Meth
Christian Nation Ev Assoc	I-O	1	Flesher (1905/1913)
W&MA	Ont	2	Hallman, after 1913?
Chr Workers Ch	Ont	1	Homuth (1898/1903/1909)
Free Meth	Nebr	1	to FM, 1902
Lehigh Faith Miss Assoc	Nebr	1	1908, 1918
Salv Army	Mich	1	Scofield (1894/1905)
Evangelical Methodists"	Ont	1	Hilts (1876/1880)
Meth Episc (US)	I-O	1	WJ Huffman to ME for 5 yrs
of Nazarene	I-O	1	to CoN
Evangelical Assoc	I-O	1	Pontius (1889/1894)
	T=	18	
In addition to these,			
Salv Army	Ont	1	Barker
Bible Christians/ Meth	Ont	1	Chambers, left 1908 for penteco

Jacob Hygema spent semester at a Free Will Baptist College in 1890s

There must have been plenty more who came and left. These made a mark.

I-O = Indiana and Ohio Conference

Mich = Michigan Conference

Nebr = Nebraska Conference

Ont = Canada or Ontario Conference

Penn = Pennsylvania Conference

MBiC/UMS personnel in Nigeria, 1901-2003

NAME	birth	death	entered Nigeria	retired or resigned	Agency, Notes	Marriage Notes
		0=duplicate				
		* =living, 2003		* = current, 2003		
Anderson, Myrtle Olive		*	1937	1975?	UMS	
Anthony, Ebenezer A	1865	1913	1901	1903	AIM/ SIM	m Harriet Alma French, 1889
Archer, Helen		*	1964		UMS	gov't serv >1973?
Banfield, Alexander Woods		0	1905	1915	MBiCMS	
Banfield, Alexander Woods	1878	1949	1901	1905	AIM/ SIM	
Banfield, Alexander Woods		0	1915	1931	BFBS, left Nigeria 1930	
Banfield, Mrs Althea A (Priest)		0	1915	1931	BFBS, left Nigeria 1930	see WMS Study Course, 1967--68
Banfield, Mrs Althea A (Priest)	1879	1966	1905	1915	MBiCMS	m AW Banfield, 1905
Bayly, Viola			1945		UMS	m Charles Nelson, 1953
Bell, Dr Ross H	1918	1996	1946	1974	UMS	
Bell, Ruby (Reinhart)	1922	*	1946	1974	UMS	
Best, Elizabeth		*	1947		UMS	m Virgil Pollock, 1952
Boadway, Dr Ted		*	1968	1969	UMS	
Boadway, Mrs Ted		*	1968	1969	UMS	
Boettger, Eldon	1924	*	1947	1971	UMS	
Boettger, Violet (Lehman)	1916	*	1946	1971	UMS	
Bolender, Doris (Moyer)	1922	*	1946	1960	UMS	
Bolender, Gordon J	1920	2002	1946	1960	UMS	
Bontrager, Elizabeth (Permar)			1944	1980s	UMS	
Bontrager, John Lowell	1920	1993	1944	1980s	UMS	
Brenneman, Hilda (Wayre)		*	1947		UMS	
Brenneman, Wayne H		*	1947		UMS	
Brewster, Dr David R			1964	1965?	UMS	doctor at TM, intern
Brewster, Marilyn Ruth			1964	1965?	UMS	
Brown, Anna (Smith)			1954	1966	UMS	
Brown, Harold			1954	1966	UMS	
Brown, Margaret		*	1967	1975?	UMS	to Haiti, 1978
Brubacher, Edma (Fusee)	1911	*	1939	1976	UMS	fr Syria
Brubacher, Elgin		1943	1939	1943	UMS	
Burkholder, Joyce			1954	1962	UMS	m Robert Hale, 1958
Cable, Lois (Bossard)		*	1953		UMS	m Hossler
Cable, Paul			1953		UMS	
Cheesmur, Mrs Robert	see Redfield					
Cheesmur, Robert	1920	*	1955		UMS	
Coleman, Mary			1968		UMS	
Crall, Eileen (Bossard)			1951		UMS	
Crall, Harold			1951		UMS	
Cressman, Esther	1927	*	1951	1978	UMS	
Cressman, Esther		0			YWAM, Philippines	
Cressman, Miriam			1944	1945	UMS	

Crist, Jean		*	1959		UMS		US office
Dennison, Peter	1955	*	1982	1994	FIM/ WPN		
Dennison, Rebecca (Lilly)	1954	*	1982	1994	FIM/ WPN		
Dettweiler, Sonia (Gordon)	1960	*	*		SIL/ WBT		fr SIL Brasil
Dettweiler, Stephen	1954	*	1989	*	SIL/ WBT		
Dirks, Esther			1952	1953	UMS		
Doner, Allan B	1917		1984	1953	1978 UMS		
Doner, Dorine (Gooding)	1921	*		1953	1978 UMS		
Dow, Carolyn		*		1972	1974 UMS		
Dow, Thomas E	1940	*		1972	1974 UMS		
Durkee, Grace (1924	1933 UMS		
Durkee, Norman E				1924	1933 UMS		
Eby, Ruth		*		1959	UMS		Mrs J J Maconachie
Embree, Barbara (Anderson)			1946	1923	1945 UMS		
Embree, Carl Thomas	1890		1964	1923	1953 UMS		
Erb, Dr Jean (Sharpe)	1919	*		1947	1970 UMS		
Erb, Dr John	1919	1990s		1947	1970 UMS		
Evans, Edith Mary	1882		1966	1913	1954 MBiCMS/ UMS		Mrs I W Sherk, 1918
Everest, Rosena Mrs				1965	1968 UMS		Rock Haven
Everett, Naomi				1954	UMS		
Feldges, Grace				1931	SIM		m Fred Whale
Finlay, Florence Amelia (Adams)	1894		1970	1918	1959 MBiCMS/ UMS		
Finlay, Maggie	1899		1959	1923	1937 UMS		Mrs Wm Falk
Finlay, William	1887		1924	1918	1924 MBiCMS/ UMS		
French, Chrystal				1947	1965 UMS		m Kenneth Hunt, 1968
Fretz, Harvey	1934	*		1969	UMS/ FIM		
Fretz, Laurene (Vansickle)	1938	*		1969	UMS/ FIM		
Fudge, Carol		*			1998 WPN		to Cote d'Ivoire
Fudge, Randy		*			1998 WPN		to Cote d'Ivoire
Fuller, Halima (Danmallam)	1962	*		1994	*	WPN	
Fuller, James Clare	1953	*		1989	*	FIM/ WPN	
Fuller, Lois Katharine	1950	*		1974	*	UMS/WPN	
Gaessler, Bridget		*		2001	2003 WPN		
Gaessler, Graham		*		2001	2003 WPN		
Gall, Shirley J				1953	1958 UMS	UMS off, 1958	m Wm P McMillan, 1969
Goldsworthy, Winnie (Ariss)			1998?	1981	1987 FIM		
Grody, Esther			0	1953	MCA		to Sierra Leone
Grody, Esther Viola				1947	1950 UMS		
Hale, Mrs Robert	see Burkh		0				
Hale, Robert				1959	1962 UMS		
Hallman, Harold Wesley	1925		1971	1950	1966 UMS		
Hallman, Mabel (Hachborn)	1924	*		1950	1966 UMS		Mrs Stott
Harrigan, Carole (Guhse)		*		1992	1997 WPN	m 1980	fr Sierra Leone
Harrigan, Dan	1956		2001	1992	1997 WPN		fr Sierra Leone
Hatfield, Eleanor		*		1964	UMS		
Hawkins, Marie				1963	1967 UMS		SIM 1957 to 1963

Hays, Dorothy			1947	UMS	
Hein, F E			1916	1918 SIM? Ind?	Mokwa 2 yrs
Hein, Mrs F E			1916	1918 SIM? Ind?	Mokwa 2 yrs
Hollenbeck, Isabelle	1893	1986	1923	1960 UMS	
Homuth, Charles Tobias	1872	1953	1903	1905 AIM/ SIM	
Homuth, Charles Tobias		0	1911	1918 MBiCMS	
Homuth, Mrs		0	1911	1913 MBiCMS	
Homuth, Sarah Jane (Davis)	ca 1880	1940	1903	1905 AIM/ SIM	
Honsberger, Earl Eli	1903	1982	1937	1966 UMS	
Honsberger, Ila Grace (Barkey)	1905	2001	1937	1966 UMS	
Hood, Martha Lillian	1890	1975	1922	1954 UMS	Mrs Wm Falk, (2nd), 1960
Hostetler, Emma	1874	1912	1907	1912 MBiCMS	
Hunking, Marion (Hunt)	1924 *		1949	1971 UMS	
Hunking, Willis	1921 *		1949	1971 UMS	
Hunsberger, Charles Wesley			1953	1960 UMS	
Hunsberger, Hilda			1953	1960 UMS	
James, Ron	*		1984	1985 volunt'r	teacher at TM
Kirk, Cecil			1944		stationed, ever serve?
Kirk, Mrs Cecil			1944		stationed, ever serve?
Knights, Elda (Gray)	1931 *		1966	1973 UMS see note	m H Knights, 1956
Knights, Harold	1932 *		1966	1973 UMS	1988 to 1990
Kress, Evelyn	*		1944	1979 UMS	m L R Sloat
Lageer, Eileen	1923 *		1950	1974 UMS	
Lageer, Wilmot E			1918	1921 MBiCMS	
Lageer, Winnifred (Bell)	1888	1967	1918	1921 MBiCMS	
Landis, Shirley			1967	UMS nurse	
Landrey, Luella fr MCA			1941	1957 UMS	m Merritt Silburn, 1969
Lang, Florence (Overholt)		0	1912	SIM	Mrs J Harold Sherk, 1948
Lantz, Stella P		1965	1921	1938 UMS	Mrs Paul Prentice
Lehman, Marion	1927		1952	1964 UMS	Mrs Dyer
Lilly, Barbara (Loucks)	1931 *		1954	1975 UMS	m Lloyd Lilly, 1953
Lilly, Lloyd	1931 *		1954	1975 UMS see note	later, in 1990s
Lorain, Louise			1947	UMS	
McDowell, James	*		1974	1991 UMS/FIM	
McDowell, Pat	*		1974	1991 UMS/FIM	
McFarlane, Mrs Neil (Carol)	*		1974	1976 UMS	m Neil McFarlane, 1974?
McFarlane, Neil	*		1972	1976 UMS	
Miller, Sue			1968	UMS	typed for E Lageer
Minnix, Lucy Lee			1966	1968 UMS	Jos teaching
Montgomery, Irene			1954	1964 UMS	m Tom Osborne, 1967
Moran, John	*		1964	1974 UMS	
Moran, Retha (Patrick)	*		1964	1974 UMS	
Neff, Dale			1957	OMS	
Neff, Mrs Dale			1957	OMS	
Nelson, Charles	1922		1954	UMS	
Nelson, Viola	see Bayly	0			

Overholt, Florence			1906	1911	MBiCMS		Mrs Fred Lang, 1911
Pannabecker, Cornelia W	1878	1946	1906	1917	MBiCMS		Mrs John Chester
Pannabecker, Harold R		1959	1915	1919	independent, with MBiCMS		
Paulus, Mary	*		1961		UMS		m John Rupp
Plant, Bessie	1907	1968	1936		UMS		
Pollock, Betty	see Best	0					
Pollock, Virgil	1919	*	1946		UMS		
Post, Judith			1965		UMS		
Powers, Max			1929	1932	UMS		
Pridham, Cheryl	1954	*			SIM		
Pridham, Donna	1956	*	1989	*	SIM		
Pridham, Edna	1918	1972	1945	1972	UMS		
Reaume, John	1963	*	1993	1997	CCC	see note	Nigeria, 1999-
Reaume, Wendy (Stuart)	1963	*	1993	1997	CCC	see note	Nigeria, 1999-
Redfield, Beverley			1952		UMS		m Robert Hale, 1958
Reifel, Arthur	*		1945	1987	UMS		
Reifel, Gladys (Chapman)	*		1945	1987	UMS		
Reinhart, Luella			1941		UMS		Mrs John Harley, 1957
Rich, Melvin		1974	1927	1928	UMS		sickness
Rich, Mrs Melvin			1927	1928	UMS		
Ross, Hyla	*		1959		UMS		
Schaitel, Lyle M			1968		UMS		
Schaitel, Sharon (Hunsperger)			1968		UMS		
Scheirling, Jake	*		1997	1998	WPN		fr Sierra Leone
Scheirling, Ruth	*		1997	1998	WPN		fr Sierra Leone
Schroeder, Dr George	1929?	*	1968	1994	UMS/ WPN		D Min
Schroeder, George		0	1963	1966	MCC		fr MCC TAP
Schroeder, Helen (0	1963	1966	MCC		fr MCC TAP
Schroeder, Helen (Steer)	*		1968	1994	UMS/ WPN		
Schultz, Alice (Leach)	1890	1975	1914	1916	independent, with MBiCMS		m A J S, 1913
Schultz, Allan John	1891	1981	1914	1916	independent, with MBiCMS		
Severn, Goldie			1953		UMS		
Seymour, Margaret			1960	1964	UMS		
Shantz, Norah		1962	1918	1925	MBiCMS/ UMS		Mrs E D Shuert
Shantz, Sidney Shupe	1884	1985	1915	1923	MBiCMS/ UMS		
Shantz, Susan (Weber)		1961	1915	1923	MBiCMS/ UMS		m S S Shantz, 1910
Sherick, Ormand	1935	*	1964	1978	UMS		
Sherick, Phyllis (Traub)	*		1964	1978	UMS		
Sherk, Ira Washington	1886	1955	1907	1954	MBiCMS/ UMS		
Sherk, Mrs I W	see Evans	0					m 1918
Sider, Eileen	1920	ca1956	1944		UMS		m a Mr Collins
Singell, Alice (Sadd)			1968		UMS		
Singell, David			1968		UMS		
Skitch, Donna	*		1963	1978	UMS		
Sloat, Evelyn	see Kress	0					
Sloat, L Russell	1909	1997	1935	1979	UMS	returned to UMTC	

Sloss, Grant	1922	1993	1953	1962	UMS	
Smart, Edwin	1955 *		1990	1996	WPN	
Smart, Joan (Whitney)	1956 *		1990	1996	WPN	
Snyder, Dan	*		1984 *		FIM/ WPN	tentmaker, 1977
Snyder, Dr Bruce	*		1972	1975	UMS	
Snyder, Helen (Moyer)	*		1972	1975	UMS	m Bruce Snyder
Snyder, Janet	*		1995 *		WPN	
Snyder, Janet		0		1995	SBM	Mrs Dan Snyder
Sparks, Barbara	*		1982	1985	FIM	
Stockinger, Dr Fred			1965	1965	UMS	
Stouder, Irene		1972	1924	1927	UMS	failed 1st language exam
Traub, Ozro Lavern	1912 *		1936		UMS	
Traub, Viola (Dubro)	*		1940		UMS	
Tyson, Angeline Mae	1909	1987	1944	1958	UMS	
Ummel, Doris			1955	1964	UMS	Mrs Ferguson
Ummel, Joseph	1897	1943	1921	1943	UMS	
Ummel, Mabel (Hygema)	1901	1992	1927	1962	UMS	
Ummel, Paul	1900	1969	1924	1962	UMS	
Ummel, Pheobe (Brenneman)	1905	1970	1928	1962	UMS	
Walsh, Joan E	*		1969	1988	UMS/ FIM	
Whale, Mrs Grace (Feldges)					BB	
Wilson, Ruby	1918		1948	1970	UMS	
Witt, Auburn	1920 *		1954	1969	UMS	
Witt, Bessie (Finlay)	*		1954	1969	UMS	
Woods, Eunice		0	1976	1978	SIM	
Woods, Eunice	*		1964	1975	UMS	Mrs Norman Hunsberger
Yates, Dr Paul	1926	2000	1953	1976	UMS	
Yates, Marie (Clendenen)	1926 *		1953	1976	UMS	
Yeo, Annie Jane	1904	1983	1938	1970	UMS	
Young, Miss		1916?			SIM	6 mos at Shonga
Young, Nellie			1949		UMS	m F X Stanley

Appendix

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Missionary Banner (New Carlisle, OH; Winona Lake, IN; Pandora and Springfield, OH; Elkhart,

IN) [1938-1969]

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